

JANUARY 1937

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

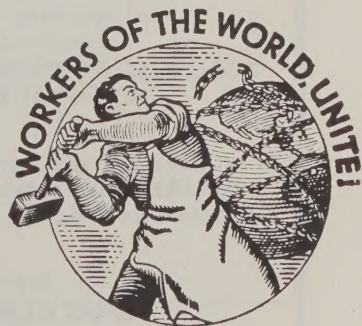
**THE CONVENTION OF THE
A. F. OF L.**

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

**DIMITROFF'S GREAT VICTORY
BY WILHELM PIECK**

**FOR THE DEFENSE OF THE
PEOPLE AND THE REPUBLIC
BY K. GOTTWALD**

**THE EVENTS IN SPAIN
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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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CONTENTS

The Berlin Agreement of the Chief Instigators of War	3
For the Defense of the People and the Republic . . . K. GOTTWALD . . .	12
The Militarized Economy of Germany and the Tasks of the Anti-Fascist Struggle F. DENGEL . . .	22
Questions of Unity Among the Youth RAYMOND GUYOT . .	34
The Convention of the American Federation of Labor WILLIAM Z. FOSTER .	45

Third Anniversary of Leipzig Trial

Dimitroff's Great Victory WILHELM PIECK	51
---	----

The Heroic Struggle of the Spanish People

Fallen in Battle	57
The Second International and Spain	61

(Continued on next page)

The United National Anti-Imperialist Front in China

Concerning Events in Sian (Shensi)	I. JACK	62
Open Letter to the Kuomintang by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China		68

Political Notes

Hitler in Alsace	HUGO EBERLEIN	76
It Was a Case of Joyless Love	H. WALECKI	81

Comintern People

Nikos Zachariadis		83
-----------------------------	--	----

International Labor Movement

Before the Presidential Elections in Finland	H. HYAKINEN	86
--	-----------------------	----

Book Reviews

Reporter in Spain		94
Spain and France	T. M.	97

The Berlin Agreement of the Chief Instigators of War

THE Berlin agreement concluded between Germany and Japan, and with which the Italian government is also closely linked, has its published and unpublished sections. The published agreement "concerning the Struggle Against the Communist International" is well known, although it has received very little interpretation in the international press. The unpublished agreement is less known but given more elucidation in the press. Let us first examine the secret section of the Berlin pact.

There are only three countries in the world—Germany, Japan and Italy—where the press assures us that no secret agreement exists. In other countries, even the capitalist press immediately discovered the existence of the unseen section of the Berlin pact and more or less clearly interpreted it as an agreement for a *military alliance*.

The government organs of the three aggressor states assured us that "the Berlin agreement is of a *defensive* and not *aggressive* nature" (*Giornale d'Italia*), that it is "elaborated as safeguarding *peace*" (*Voelkischer Beobachter*) and concluded "for the purpose of *self-defense* against Bolshevization" (*Gaiko Dziho*). However, these assurances only brought forth peals of Homeric laughter in the international press. In this connection even such a hoary mouthpiece of reaction as the *London Times* mocked at the alleged "self-defense" of Japan as follows:

"The tanks and bombers with which levies controlled by the Kwantung Army are even now ravaging the Mongol bor-

der would doubtless be described—if Tokyo could be persuaded to mention them at all—as the instruments of self-defense against Soviet aggression." (*London Times*, November 18, 1936.)

Concerning the real contents of the unpublished military agreement, the well-informed English press brings information of the following nature: first, the exact nature of the military and technical aid which Germany and Japan are immediately prepared to offer each other is clearly indicated in the agreement; second, agreement exists concerning "the joint defense of lawful interests" with regard to colonial expansion, including the establishment of German and Japanese spheres of influence in the Dutch Indies; third, the agreement binds Japan and Germany not to include any agreements with any third state without the cognizance of the other party to the agreement; fourth, agreement has been arrived at concerning mutual action in case of war.

Augur, a well known English journalist from the *Times*, explains the conclusion of the agreement thus:

"... the chiefs of the Japanese army were evidently impressed by the possibility of obtaining an almost unlimited supply of all kinds of arms and ammunition from Germany. In exchange they had the immense resources of raw materials which Manchukuo represents to offer to the Germans." (*L'Ami du Peuple*, November 20, 1936.)

Undoubtedly this is a true, though a far from complete, explanation.

It is no surprise to anybody that it is precisely these states which have found in each other suitable accomplices. It was precisely because Japan and Germany wanted "to have absolutely free hands for the purpose of carrying on their aggressive war adventures" (Molotov), that they left the League of Nations. Italy already has one foot outside the League of Nations, and is trampling down the Covenant of the League with the other.

It is clear that it is a question of a concerted offensive of fascism on the international arena. It is no accident, moreover, that two of the plotters, Germany and Italy, are the foremost fascist states, and the third, Japan, is a semi-feudal Asiatic monarchy, in whose policies the fascist militarists play the decisive role. There are no other countries in the world where such black reaction, such outrageous, bloody terror, such inhuman exploitation of the working people are to be found. There are no other countries where from day to day such unbridled chauvinism is encouraged by the state organs, where the ruling clique carry on such unheard of slander against other peoples, whose land they want to plunder. The rulers of these countries are real fascist robbers, prepared to seize everything that is not kept under lock and key.

It is perfectly obvious that the German government is the ringleader of this monstrous plot of fascist robbers. The famous pamphlet of the Japanese War Ministry clearly reveals the extent to which even the ruling bodies in Japan closely connect their criminal war plans with the task of the complete fascization of the state system. In this pamphlet we find the following:

"The war to come will be a symphony of armed forces, economic power and an ideological war. Therefore, it is essential in advance, already now in peace times, to create a *totalitarian system of state*, which will ensure the full development of all the forces of the state. It is

essential that all the forces of the country should be strained, whatever the sacrifices which have to be made, in order to endeavor to *predetermine the outcome of the future war by one mighty blow at the very beginning of the war.*"

See what leaps these robbers are preparing! And now they have concluded an agreement for joint preparations for these criminal plans and for their joint operation. It is quite comprehensible why it was impossible to publish such an agreement, and it is equally understandable that some sort of "ideological" covering had to be concocted for it. They reckoned, of course, that it would be impossible to say openly that they have entered into a bloc for mutual support of their rapacious plans both in the East and in the West, for the seizure not only of the territories of China, Spain and the Soviet Union, but also of various possessions of Great Britain, America, Holland, etc. And so they said that they had entered into a bloc not at all for the purposes of war and expansion, but only for the struggle against communism. What an excellent cover!

Only serious people do not believe this, the more so since the talkative friends of the fascist plotters have already given away the secret. For instance, M. Sigemori Tadasi commented on the conclusion of the Berlin pact in the December number of the *Sekai Tisiki*, a Japanese reactionary magazine, by giving the following frank information concerning the military policy of fascist Germany:

"In the West, the guns of National-Socialist Germany are trained against France, in the East they menace the Soviet Union. But Germany knows that it is extremely disadvantageous for her to fight at one and the same time against France and against the Soviet Union. Therefore, she is striving to destroy the Franco-Soviet pact. . . .

"Germany is first and foremost striving to separate from the Soviet Union France, Czechoslovakia and other countries with which the Soviet Union has

friendly relations, and to isolate the latter completely. Then it wants to have as its allies Poland, Italy, Rumania and Finland, and together with them . . . start a campaign against the Soviet Union. In preparing to realize its extensive plans for the seizure of the Ukraine, Germany is attacking communism as the most deadly enemy of world culture."

As can be seen, the last phrase of this fascist author gives a quite definite explanation of the reason why German fascism depicts communism as "the most deadly enemy of world culture"; it wants to seize the Ukraine, and the Communists are against that. Therein lies the crime of communism, from the viewpoint of fascist "world culture"!

Moreover, communism is not only determined against the seizure of the Ukraine, but in general against all the "extensive aggressive plans", of which the fascist aggressor is so passionately fond. Hence the declaration of war against communism, and the triumphant invitation to all capitalist states to adhere to the Berlin "anti-communist pact".

An enticing bait, but few willing to be caught by it. England immediately replies: no thanks, that is not for us! France recalls the fact mentioned by Hitler's Japanese friend, that "the guns of National-Socialist Germany are trained against France". Czechoslovakia feels like the man who, offering one finger to the devil, fears that he will tear away from her not only North Bohemia, but endangers her very life. The Polish bourgeoisie is hesitating; true, it is not loath to make something out of participating in Hitler's war "against communism", but fears the consequences, not only of defeat, but of Hitler's troops over-running Poland.

Perhaps the United States will take part in the Berlin anti-communist concilium? It hardly looks like it. Why? Not only because of the fact that in this hazardous enterprise the dishonest participants want to earn something at the

expense of the Americans (the Philipines and America's Chinese interests), but also because of the sober political estimate of the American conservatives. Their reasons were most frankly expressed by Walter Lippmann, a columnist of a leading Republican newspaper, *The New York Herald Tribune*:

"It is a curious paradox that the governments which talk the loudest about saving the world from communism are the same governments which are openly intent upon disrupting the existing order of things in the world. These three pretended champions of conservatism, authority and the rights of property have since 1931 been the leaders of a movement to unsettle boundaries, overthrow governments, break up empires, and to undermine the prestige of the powers whose prime intent is the preservation of law and order in the world.

"They have smashed the League. They have smashed the agreements in the Pacific. They have started wars of conquest. They have fomented rebellion in China, in Austria, in Spain. They have done their best to impair the authority of the British Empire and of France. They have pursued a policy of economic nationalism which even Dr. Schacht calls medieval. They have obstructed and drawn away from any kind of agreement—political, economic, financial, monetary—designed for restoring peace and prosperity and to quiet the forces of social unrest. And then they ask mankind to believe that they are the defenders of law and order." (*New York Herald Tribune*, November 28, 1936.)

It is reasoning of this kind, apparently, that makes many English Conservatives refuse to take part in the Berlin anti-Communist bloc. The *Times* expressed this briefly and precisely in a statement which said that if anti-Bolshevism leads to war, it also leads to Bolshevism.

Indisputably a weighty argument!

Thus, so far, the fascist instigators of war have not managed to obtain the participation of other countries in the Berlin pact. This is the first positive point.

Second, they have not succeeded in hiding the existence of their military agreement for mutual support for their plans of expansion. That is also important

But it still remains a fact that the chief instigators of war, Germany and Japan, have concluded a definite pact for a military alliance, with which Italy is also closely connected. *This signifies a tremendous increase in the menace of world war.*

The extent to which this sharpens the already tense international situation both in Europe and in the Far East is quite clear. For Germany and Italy are already fighting jointly in Spain, and Japan is already fighting in China. Now they will endeavor, on the basis of their mutual support, to extend these military operations over a wider expanse.

The mutual terms of agreement and the establishment of military and technical collaboration will now increase their aggression and adventures on all sides, as well as their feverish preparations for a "big war".

Besides this, it would be a great mistake to think that they have ceased, or will cease, to fight to get the support of other countries for their "extensive" military plans. It must not for a moment be forgotten that they have their agents, their direct or indirect allies, in almost all countries of the world, whose activities they will urge forward with all their might.

This part of their work in the different countries is part of the realization of the published part of the Berlin pact.

* * *

The published agreement concerns not only Germany and Japan, but all the other capitalist countries. In its text, it definitely talks about all the states in which, as the German and Japanese governments "are convinced", the "toleration exercised toward the interference of the Comintern in the home affairs of the state" is a menace to their "internal peace and social welfare". In view of this, the German and Japanese governments have now come to an agreement

to afford aid to these other states in the work of destroying all forms of "toleration toward the interference of the Comintern", in order to protect their "internal peace and social welfare".

It is not surprising that they immediately received the following answer from the other countries: We didn't ask for your aid, and we don't want it. However, this answer did not in the slightest degree embarrass such people as these "high contracting parties". And what if they didn't and do not ask? Neither did the Chinese government ask for Japanese aid "against the Communists"; on the contrary, they earnestly asked that no aid whatever should be sent. But the aim of the fascist policy in international affairs consists precisely in forcing the unwilling (or hesitating) states to accept German, Japanese or Italian "aid against communism". It is this that constitutes the chief aim of the published section of the Berlin pact.

It stands to reason that they could not write about it quite openly in the published text. But is it difficult to see this Berlin interference in the internal affairs of other countries in, for example, paragraph (b) of the Supplementary Protocol to the main agreement, which runs:

"The competent authorities of the two High Contracting States will within the framework of the existing laws take severe measures against those who at home or abroad are engaged directly or indirectly in the service of the Communist International or promote its subversive activities."

It follows therefore from this article of the agreement that the German and Japanese governments agree to adopt, through their subordinates, "severe measures" not only in Germany and Japan, but also outside these countries, i.e., in other countries, and not only against Communists, but also against all who even indirectly "promote" the work of the Communist International. Well, there are not a few such people! Not counting the Soviet Union, where the

masses of the people as a whole "indirectly promote" the work of the Communist International, there are many millions of working people in other countries of the world as well who are directly or indirectly promoting our work. There are still more people everywhere whom the fascists call "promoters of the Comintern" or "are engaged in the service of the Comintern" directly, for the simple reason that they do not want to help fascism. For example, in France, all the supporters of the People's Front, i.e., a tremendous majority of the population, obviously belong to this category of people against whom the Berlin pact threatens to use "severe measures". It is extremely characteristic that the periodical of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Gaiko Dziho*, is already asserting that even "among the officials of the League of Nations there is a large number of people who are sympathizers if not members of the parties of the Third International".

But not only in Geneva and in France, but in all capitalist countries without exception, the fascists in their struggle against other parties and political leaders try in general to scare them by depicting them "as persons in the service of the Comintern" or, at any rate, "persons indirectly assisting the work of the Comintern". The fascists in Berlin know this best of all, and it is precisely for this reason that they wrote in this way in their agreement, so as to give reasons in a truly fascist manner for their constant interference in the political life of other countries.

The *Manchester Guardian* commented on this quite correctly and stated:

"Taking 'severe measures' against those who 'indirectly' 'further or promote' the Third International might, if needed, cover anything from intervention in Spain to an open attack on Czechoslovakia or North China." (Dec. 26, 1936.)

Thus it appears that the published agreement has not merely one function,

but two: it is not only a cover for the secret military pact, but also an agreement for constant political struggle by the Berlin bloc inside other countries for the creation of war conditions most favorable for these fascist aggressors. This is its second function!

The influential Conservative *Daily Telegraph* recently wrote:

"If the new pact against communism involves no obligations other than those publicly undertaken its main mischief is that of a fresh obstacle to international agreement for peace." (*Telegraph*, November 26.)

The whole point is that a bloc has been formed by the Berlin pact, which aims to destroy every opportunity of there being any effective international agreement concluded to maintain peace. It is precisely the efforts effectively to safeguard peace, primarily these efforts, which are labeled "Communism" by the Berlin plotters, or, at any rate, "indirect assistance in the work of the Communist International". And we by no means conceal the fact that the work of the Communist International today is first and foremost a struggle to maintain peace, in spite of all the intrigues of the fascist aggressors.

Comrade Molotov, at the recent Congress of Soviets, stated this very clearly:

"In a sense even a plot against peace can be called 'the struggle against communism'. But in that case one must be consistent and say what actually is taking place; in the conditions which exist today, fascism with its allies constitute the program of war, while Communism and the U.S.S.R. constitute the program of peace."

The fascists are afraid of our program, they are so afraid that they dare not say a word about the slogans for which we Communists are fighting every day in all the capitalist countries. In all the countries where the fascists are not in power, they themselves are feverishly plotting, and in the countries where the fascists are in power, they are plot-

ting on a world scale, and at the same time they are trying to depict the Communists as stupid plotters!

The first act of Hitler and Goering when they came to power was to stage a "Communist putsch": they required for this purpose the burning of the Reichstag and the Leipzig Trial where they tried to "prove" a putschist attempt on the part of the Communists. But it turned out to be an unheard-of scandal on a world scale for them, and meant the complete failure of their fascist plan. In France, of late, the fascists and their allies have been creating sensations almost every two weeks about the coming "Communist uprising". Oh, how they would like the Communists to take the road of putschism! Only they wait in vain! The Communists know that they would then present no obstacle to the fascist enemies of the people. For the Communists want to bar the way effectively against both a fascist coup d'etat and against war. Therefore the French Communists, like all the other sections of the Communist International, are today concentrating all their efforts upon mobilizing the masses of the people for the struggle in defense of democracy and peace.

This is the real policy of Communism at present. It is quite comprehensible that the fascist war incendiaries are infuriated by this fact and are creating blocs for "anti-Communist struggle", for all their extensive war plans are threatened with failure.

But it must be borne in mind that they will increase the work of their agents and allies in all countries wherever they can. It is not for nothing that they have now created a "permanent commission for struggle against the Comintern" on the basis of the Berlin pact, i.e., an international state center of the Berlin bloc for work in other countries.

This Berlin center will incite imperialist elements everywhere to struggle against the foundations of the policy of peace, against all measures of collective

security and against the League of Nations.

The Berlin center will seek to strengthen the positions of its allies in the armies and fleets of other countries, especially of France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Rumania, in order to paralyze the defense of these countries against the Hitler invasion or to bind hand and foot those of its allies (Poland, Austria), who show hesitating tendencies.

At the same time the Berlin center will still further increase the campaign of lies and slanders against the Soviet Union in all capitalist countries, using for the purpose the known readiness of the majority of the capitalist newspapers and a number of Social-Democratic newspapers, to spread all kinds of anti-Soviet "sensations" and the more willingly the more monstrous they are. How many times, for instance, during the last three months, have the canards of Goebbels appeared in the press about "bloody battles between the Red Army men and the troops of the O.G.P.U.", about "the arrest of thousands of Red army men in the Ukraine", etc.?

The Berlin center in all the countries of bourgeois democracy will ignite the fire of fascist struggle against democracy and parliamentarism. It will spread the foulest slander everywhere against the best advocates of democracy and peace, and organize groups of bandits which will not only make attempts upon their lives, but, in individual cases, will adopt the "strict measures" provided for in the Berlin agreement. Even during the last few years there have been not a few terrorist acts in Europe, committed with the direct or indirect assistance of Berlin, for the purpose of destroying the "toleration" manifested by the given state toward Marxism.

The Berlin center will use all means at its disposal to inspire preparations for fascist uprisings in the countries neighboring on Germany. An illustration of this is to be seen in the campaign "against the Bolshevization of Czecho-

slovakia" and the already begun secret arming of Henlein's guards. The "technical collaboration" between the agents of Hitler and the French and Belgian fascists also points in this direction. If Hitler considered distant Spain "an ideal arena of struggle against the Marxists", as bourgeois journalists from Berlin inform us, then it is easy to understand how much more of the forces of the state and other means he is prepared to mobilize to convert France, Belgium or Czechoslovakia into a similar "ideal arena".

The Berlin and Rome governments, using the services of the local reactionaries, have already set in motion all their "strict measures" in Spain. We are all well aware of the nature of these measures. But they have not yet obtained their booty. It was not difficult for them to deal with the population in the rear, using Hitler methods; they killed even women and children by the thousand. But at the front they are finding it difficult. Madrid is being heroically defended. The Spanish Republic is not conquered. The Spanish people have not capitulated. They have not been scared away by the invasion even of German and Italian troops of occupation. They love freedom, that is understandable; but how are we to explain the fact that they are in a position to defend their freedom so wonderfully against all these violators?

They are in a position to do this because they have united their scattered ranks in one united anti-fascist People's Front. An example for others to take!

* * *

The movement for a united working class and the united People's Front against fascism and the war danger is developing, true by overcoming great difficulties, but at a steady pace. No more than eighteen months have passed since Comrade Dimitroff, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, pronounced these guiding slogans, which are determined by the whole of the present position of the working people of

the capitalist world, yet already today serious changes and successes on the road to establishing a united front of the working people are to be found in a number of countries.

Without doubt, the Berlin agreement is also a reflection of a certain feeling of alarm among the fascist warmongers concerning the growth of the mass movement of the united proletarian and People's Front. Regarding this growth as a special menace to their own war plans, they openly announce that they have concluded an agreement against the Communist International and against all those directly or indirectly assisting its work.

The Berlin pact is clearly directed against the movement of the united People's Front. It is calculated to scare away the petty-bourgeois organizations and prevent them from taking part in the anti-fascist struggle with the Communists. However, there is no doubt that the indignation caused by the conclusion of this aggressive pact, which clearly menaces universal peace and the independence of free peoples, will be a strong impetus in the direction of a further upward swing of the People's Front movement.

For the very fact that this pact has been concluded most clearly refutes the constant arguments and prevarications of the opponents of the united front.

What now can those people say who pointed to Hitler's declarations of peace, at the same time asserting that we were exaggerating the danger of war? Or what now can those people say who sought refuge under the wing of "neutrality", imagining that war does not menace the neutral countries, as Hitler has promised to "localize war"? For it now transpires that the bloc of fascist aggressors intends to wage war simultaneously on two, and perhaps three, continents, to ignite such a world conflagration that not a single country will be able to maintain its neutrality, or remain secure. In England, for example, up to now many have been dreaming of

isolating Western Europe from the hearth of war by means of a special "fireproof" agreement exclusively for countries of Western Europe. But now, even Eden has come to understand, as he expressed it in his last speech, that even England cannot live in security in a Western European glasshouse.

What can the cowardly "democrats" now say, who supported the position of "not resisting the evil"? For they tried to replace the People's Front policy, the policy of people's resistance against the advancing aggressor, by a policy of constant concessions. By means of such a capitulating policy, they promised to "tame the beast", they hoped to prevent Hitler from concluding a dangerous military alliance and from taking further aggressive steps. And this only made Hitler more insolent, and the military alliance, which they feared so much, now exists.

Why did these woe-begotten democrats refuse to believe when Comrade Dimitroff wrote:

"It is not true that the policy of constantly yielding to the demands of the fascist warmongers by the League of Nations and by various countries (Great Britain, France, Belgium, etc), can help to preserve peace. The workers have not forgotten that at one time in the international policy of Germany, it was precisely the concessions and capitulation to attacking fascism which paved its way to power. In the international arena, a similar capitulatory policy sets the hands of militant fascism free to make an attack."*

Of course, the Berlin agreement will now still further increase the insolence of the aggressive powers, who always relied upon blackmail and up to now have achieved much. Now even the British bourgeoisie are beginning to fear this, judging by what the *Times* writes:

"The chief effects to be apprehended from the alliance are a greater liberty of maneuver (and probably an accession of ebullience) for Herr Hitler in Europe and for the Japanese fighting services in the Far East." (November 26, 1936.)

This is true, but who else but the British government has been particularly encouraging the "accession of ebullience" of Hitler and Japanese militarism? It is now clear that the fascist aggressors have decided to fight for world hegemony. And such monstrous adventurism on their part was encouraged by the rotten conciliatory attitude of Great Britain, France and America, the feebleness of the peace policy of the League of Nations and, to no less extent, by the disgraceful resistance shown by the leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals against the establishment of the united front of the international proletariat.

Finally, what now will those cranks say who, for example in France, seeing the menacing danger of war, were so scared by the danger that they insisted upon refusing to pursue a consistent People's Front policy in defense of peace?

First of all they were afraid that France would be threatened by war if she applied sanctions against fascist Germany, which had violated its international obligations by militarizing the Rhineland; and so Germany went unpunished. Then they began to be afraid that France would be menaced by war because of the hostility displayed by German fascism toward the Soviet Union, and almost accused the Communists of provoking "war in defense of the Soviet Union". . . . Then they were again scared that Germany would start war against France because of her normal relations with the lawful government of Spain, and they not only demanded, but obtained "non-intervention" in the affairs of Spain, which was tantamount to a blockade of the Spanish Republic.

And what now will those panic-mongers say, when they see that it is precisely the fact that one incident after

* *The United Struggle for Peace*, p. 17, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

another has passed unpunished that has encouraged German fascism to still further acts of aggression, including a military plot together with Japanese militarism and Italian fascism? Now the menace of war has increased considerably for France as well, and precisely because France did not counteract German aggression by pursuing a consistent policy in defense of universal peace, by creating an effective guarantee of collective security.

The conclusion to be drawn is clear. *All friends of peace must unite to resist the insolent war instigators.*

It is not resistance to the aggressors which leads to war, but capitulation before them by the supporters of peace. The existence of the Berlin pact illustrates this most clearly.

Of course, this plot against universal peace is not an illustration of the growing strength of those who took part in it. On the contrary, it shows that the instability of the internal situation, economic and social, is already strongly pressing upon the fascist rulers of Germany and Japan. "Fascism is a fierce, but an unstable power." (Dimitroff.) It is precisely for this reason that fascists are seeking some way out through foreign adventures. And not wishing to risk an isolated attack upon other peoples, they have formed their own military alliance.

The plans of this military bloc will be smashed if only the supporters of peace through a mighty, mass anti-war movement, will firmly decide to force both the League of Nations and the governments of the different capitalist countries to adopt serious measures at last to defend peace.

In his interview with Mr. Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin said:

"The friends of peace can work openly. They rely on the power of public opinion. They have at their command instruments like the League of Nations, for example. This is where the friends of peace have the advantage. Their strength lies in the fact that their activities against war

are backed by the will of the broad masses of the people. There is not a people in the world that wants war. As for the enemies of peace, they are compelled to work secretly. That is where the enemies of peace are at a disadvantage."*

The supporters of peace are many. Over 4,000 delegates from 35 countries, representing hundreds of millions of supporters of peace, took part in the Brussels Peace Congress in September, 1936. The Youth Peace Congress in Geneva also represented organizations which cover tens of millions of members. In all countries of the world, including also the fascist countries, the masses of the people are in favor of maintaining peace. Even the bourgeois states, big and small, are, in the majority of cases, interested in maintaining peace today. It is quite possible for them to create such guarantees of peace that no country will find enough resolution to begin war. But they must be forced to do so while it is not too late.

The more the fascists collect their forces for a criminal attack against peace and the freedom of the peoples, the more necessary does it become to develop a united front of many millions of workers, peasants and working intellectuals against the fascist instigators of war.

This is the urgent, tremendous task of all honest friends of peace and first and foremost a matter of honor for all Communists. May the self-sacrificing, incessant struggle of the Communists of all countries on the front of peace bring the broad masses of the people to the conviction that since the chief instigators of the world war can only achieve their aims through trying to smash the working class movement, delivering blows at democracy and directing the sharp edge of their struggle "against the Comintern", then the policy of a united People's Front, pursued by the Comintern, deserves the support of the people.

* *The Stalin-Howard Interview*, pp. 4-5, International Publishers, New York.

For the Defense of the People and the Republic

BY K. GOTTWALD

THE ASSAULT ON SPAIN—AN ATTACK AGAINST PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

IN THE first place, concerning the events in Spain.* The intervention of the fascist states—Germany and Italy—against the legal government of Spain has already lasted more than four months.

It began with a military insurrection of the fascist generals against the legal government. But, from its very inception, the insurrection was organized in agreement with other fascist states, in the first place with Germany and Italy. These two countries have also from the very beginning supplied their putschist proteges with all the necessary war materials, money and men. The democratic states, above all England and France, have stuck their heads in the sand like ostriches, and given themselves up to the fiction of "non-interference". And now Berlin and Rome have crowned their

intervention policy, carried out from the very beginning, by recognition, in compliance with all formalities, of the "government" of Franco. Thus everybody sees at present that it is in reality Hitler and Mussolini who are carrying on war in Spain for the purpose of destroying the independence of Spain, for the purpose of dividing up this country among themselves, of turning it into their colony and making of it the basis for further . . . *[stricken out by the censor]* assaults on world peace and world democracy.

If Japan began the redivision of the world in the Far East, in Manchuria and China, if Italy continued in Africa, in Ethiopia, this redivision of the world, then Germany and Italy are attempting now to carry on this work of redivision of the world directly in Europe, in Spain, under the very noses of the democratic great powers.

The military intervention of the fascist states in Spain reveals the new fascist methods of conquering and subjugating foreign territories. . . . *[Stricken out by censor.]* A merry war is carried on under someone else's flag, under someone else's name, without declaring war, without setting in motion one's own army. And in addition to all that, they are

* Speech of Comrade Gottwald delivered December 1, 1936, in the Parliament in Prague in the discussion on the state budget. This speech is reproduced here according to the text published in *Rude Pravo* with parts of the speech stricken out by the official censor.

even posing as holy innocents, for they even sign the "neutrality" pact. . . .
[Stricken out by the censor.]

Czechoslovakia, too, is greatly interested in making such things impossible, if for no other reason than to save itself from becoming the victim of a similar assault on the part of the Third Empire. Czechoslovakia has a keen interest in seeing Hitler defeated in Spain, for otherwise it would very soon be our turn.

It is no accident that Goebbels, in his stupid, lying, but stubborn and persistent propaganda, characterized Czechoslovakia as a strategic "starting point for the assault of Bolshevism" in Central Europe. It is well known that Hitler has in Czechoslovakia his Francos and his Molas in the Henlein leaders. It is no secret that this group is persistently endeavoring to create in the German territories of our Republic a mass psychosis of civil war. We, all of us, are also well acquainted with the filthy campaign of the German Empire radio (Reichsrundfunk) against Czechoslovakia, with the description of every broken up meeting of the Henlein crowd as Bolshevik disturbances in Czechoslovakia. I have here a letter from Trautenau. Our comrades write therein:

"On November 13, there was a Party meeting in Trautenau where Comrade Trapp spoke about the tasks of the Communist Party in the present situation and about the defense of the Republic. He treated these questions thoroughly in connection with the necessity of creating the united front and the People's Front. He spoke further of the danger threatening the Republic from the inner fascist forces and the danger of an assault by fascist states on the Republic. The meeting of the Party membership was unanimous in the opinion that we must defend the Republic against a fascist attack. This shows the character of that meeting and the way it was conducted. At the entrance of the hall there sat Mr. Streitenberger, the leader of the German Student's Party of Trautenau, and he listened to the speeches for hours. On November 17 the paper *Die Zeit* pub-

lished a report that in Trautenau a meeting of the Communists had taken place where a Communist member of Parliament spoke about preparations for civil war. On November 23 the Breslau German broadcasting station (Rundfunk) already brought this news in the following form: The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is making preparations for civil war, is holding meetings all over the country; on November 13 in Trautenau such a meeting was held where a Communist member of Parliament incited to civil war."

Here you have it: a Communist membership meeting where the question of the *defense of the Republic* is discussed, is described by the German radio center (Reichsrundfunk) on the basis of lying report from the Henlein forces as Communist preparations for civil war in Czechoslovakia.

TODAY MADRID—TOMORROW PRAGUE; TODAY BURGOS—TOMORROW EGER!

It is known, and it's no Goebbels' invention but a fact, that the Henlein party is organizing secret or variously masked shock brigades, is carrying on systematic military field training and is maintaining close contact with the shock brigaders of the "Third Empire". And who under these circumstances can doubt that one fine day the "Third Empire" can organize a putsch in Czechoslovakia, under the pretext of saving Europe from Bolshevism, it can support the putschists, and under this transparent pretext it can carry out a military intervention in Czechoslovakia? If fascist Germany recognizes the Burgos "government" today then it may recognize tomorrow some "government" in Asch or Eger. And if today Madrid is reduced to ruins, is destroyed by German bombs, how can we be sure that tomorrow a similar fate may not strike Prague?

If this is the way matters stand, then we cannot pass over in silence the attitude of Czech reaction to the Spanish events. The gentlemen like Vransky, Kahanek, Stoupal, Stribrny and Kramar were

from the very beginning backing the Spanish putschists and their foreign protectors.

The important fact is that in Czech politics, parties, groups and individuals who approve of the general putsch against the legal democratic government, who applaud the unheard-of beastly acts of the fascists and who become enthused by the news of the murder of thousands upon thousands of Democrats and Republicans and . . . [*Stricken out by the censor*]. It is clear that these people are thereby placing themselves in the pillory. It is clear that the mark of Cain is branded on their forehead, and that they should be thrown out from the midst of decent people, so that every decent person should shun them like a plague.

These Czech Moroccans and Berbers stand by their Spanish colleagues, although they know that behind them stands Hitler, the arch-enemy of Czechoslovakia and of the Czech people, although they know that it is in reality Hitler who is carrying on war against the rightful Spanish government, although they know that an eventual victory of Hitler in Spain would mean a mortal danger for Czechoslovakia. Is it not clear that these people, these Czech Moroccans are themselves signing certificates of their state treason?

As to the official policy of the Czechoslovakian government in Spanish affairs, it must be said that this policy, on the one hand, is influenced by the terror of these Czech Moroccans and, on the other hand, reminds one of the ostrich policy. It is an outrage, when, under the pressure of these Czech Moroccans, collections of funds are prohibited for Spanish democracy as well as all other manifestations of solidarity with Spain. And it is inconceivable that the Czechoslovakian government up till now has not joined in the initiative of the Soviet Union, aiming at making the military intervention of the fascist states impossible, and at enabling the rightful government of Spain to secure its international rights.

SIX DEMANDS TO THE CZECHOSLOVAKIAN GOVERNMENT CONCERNING ITS ATTITUDE ON THE SPANISH QUESTION

We base ourselves on the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the population when we demand of the Czechoslovakian government that, first, Czechoslovakia should support the initiative of the Soviet Union on the Spanish question; second, it should enter an official protest against the intervention of Germany and Italy in Spain and against the bombardment of Madrid; third, it should accord to the government of Spain all the rights belonging to it as the rightful government, recognized by Czechoslovakia; fourth, it should support the demand of Spain concerning the convening of an extraordinary session of the League of Nations and the declaration of Germany and Italy as the aggressors; fifth, collections of funds for Spain and all manifestations of solidarity with the Spanish Republic should be permitted and, finally, we propose that the Czechoslovakian Parliament should vote to give an expression of sympathy and solidarity with the Cortes of Spain, with the Spanish Republican government and with the heroic defenders of Madrid. [*Applause of the Communist Deputies.*]

GERMAN-JAPANESE MILITARY ALLIANCE

The second question of an international political character about which we must speak in the debate on the budget, concerns the German-Japanese war agreement. For the outside world this agreement is declared to be an agreement against the Comintern. Some people say that one must say the Soviet Union instead of the Comintern. There surely are in Czechoslovakia some "wise men" who will say: "Whether it is now against the Comintern or against the Soviet Union makes no difference. In any case we are out of it for it does not concern us at all." The fact is that neither the Comintern nor the Soviet Union have any need of anyone worrying about them. They can take care of themselves. But

all these naive people who trust the words of Hitler should realize that the recent German-Japanese agreement is in reality directed against all non-fascist states, that Hitler, over the heads of Bolshevism and of the Soviet Union, is in reality aiming at them. It surely is clear that Hitler decided to introduce military service not against the Comintern, and, least of all, was it necessary for him to conclude against the Comintern any kind of military agreement with Japan and various secret pacts with Italy. The Comintern is surely no state with its own territory, with its own armies, a state against which it were possible to go to war and in a bloc with some other states at that. Hitler is indeed insultingly underestimating here the intelligence of the whole world when he declares his war agreement with Japan to be an agreement against the Comintern.

So far as the Soviet Union is concerned it is clear that the German-Japanese agreement is directed also against it.

But as to the Soviet Union, there is a little hitch. Desire and appetite for the Soviet Union both Hitler and Japan certainly have aplenty. Oh, if it all depended only on wishes! There is no lack of wishes. There is more than enough of them. Did not the fox in the fable also have a keen desire for grapes? But it is indisputable that the Soviet grapes are hanging altogether too high, and that they are devilishly sour for the fascist fox, who would like to steal them.

[DEPUTY KNORRE, in German: "*It is not advisable to climb too high. One may then fall very deep!*"]

Yes, Hitler's dreams are running altogether too high. It is therefore no wonder that the disappointed fascist fox is seeking compensation elsewhere.

And indeed, it is enough to refresh our memory about some facts of recent years. Let us take the Japanese, for example. For a good many years already the Japanese have been saving civilization in the Far East from Bolshevism.

This is well known, is it not? For a good many years the Japanese have been persuading America and England that it is the mission of the Japanese, and of the Japanese alone, to drive the Soviet Union away from the shores of the Pacific Ocean. "Give us free play, Uncle Sam, and Mister John Bull", they say "and we will tackle the Soviets". And meanwhile? Meanwhile the nice little Japanese have grabbed Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, some Chinese provinces and are sinking their teeth deeper and deeper into the hide—of whom? Exactly of England and America! Why are they acting thus? Maybe they have lost the desire for the Soviet Far East?

Surely not! Far from it! They have not lost the desire. But in China the path is more or less free, while on the Soviet border, on the Amur river, Bluecher's famous Far Eastern Red Army is standing, and it surely commands the respect of the Japanese.

Or let us have a look at Mussolini. That's another one of those old "savers of civilization from Bolshevism". He has been saving civilization from Bolshevism over and over again, and in the meanwhile in passing, he has picked up Ethiopia and sat down exactly near the most important and most vital artery of England.

And Hitler? He probably came into the world with an anti-Bolshevik cry. His first cry was probably: "Down with Bolshevism!" And today and daily he dreams of devouring the Bolsheviks and the Soviet Union, and frantically appeals to all of Europe and to the whole world for a crusade against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, however, he tore up the Versailles Treaty, which was signed not by the Soviet Union but by France, England, Czechoslovakia, etc. He has wilfully torn up the Locarno Treaty which was concluded in Germany not with the Soviet Union, but with France and England. He has occupied the Rhine territory with his troops and pushed his army forward not against the border of the Soviet Union but against the fron-

tiers of France and Belgium. He has fortified the Rhine and threatens with his long-distance cannons not Moscow but Strassburg and Paris. He is building a thick network of airdromes and of great automobile highways which lead not to Moscow, but to Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Prague and Warsaw. He has wilfully declared null and void the agreement about the internationalization of the river traffic on the Rivers Rhine, Elbe and Oder, and has thus injured the vital interests, not of the Soviet Union but, among others, to a considerable extent the vital interests of Czechoslovakia. And finally, Hitler's present campaign in Spain is aimed not directly against the interests of the Soviet Union, but against the positions of England and France in the Atlantic Ocean and in the Mediterranean.

Such then, are the tactics of the fascist swastika, hysterically crying about the Bolshevik danger. But since Moscow is far away, the Soviet grapes high, and the Red Army strong, in the meanwhile let us compensate ourselves at the expense of those who are nearer, who are weaker and are also not so powerful. . . .
[Stricken out by the censor.]

THE BERLIN-TOKYO AGREEMENT IS ALSO
DIRECTED AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia has a double reason for rejecting the German-Japanese military alliance because Czechoslovakia, too, is threatened by it. The point of this agreement, so long as it is directed theoretically against all non-fascist states and practically against us, Czechoslovakia, is to be found in the article according to which Germany and Japan take upon themselves the obligation to combat Bolshevism at home and abroad. It must be stated generally that fascist insolence and fascist cynicism know no bounds. Never yet was the principle of non-interference in the inner affairs of another state proclaimed with such cynicism. . . . *[Stricken out by the censor.]*

Hitler reasons in the following manner: "I will declare that this or that

country, that I will select, is a breeding place of Bolshevism. I will select, let us say, Czechoslovakia. This country is nearest to me. I have there more of my agents than anywhere else, I have there more Francos and Molas. In this Czechoslovakia I will support, through my agents, all possible provocations and all the vilest acts of my people. I will distort these intrigues by the classic methods of Goebbels into 'Communist plots', and will declare to the world that the government of Prague has actually fallen into the hands of Bolshevism, that it is incapable of acting as a dam against the Bolshevik world, and that as a result of that, Europe finds itself at the brink of the Bolshevik precipice. When I will thus have everything prepared, then with the help of my agents I will start 'something real' and will announce it as struggle against Bolshevism. As to myself, I will pose as the savior of Czechoslovakia and as the savior of European civilization. According to the agreement which I have with Japan, I will intervene altogether legally 'for the salvation of civilization against Bolshevism.'" It is in this way that this fascist highway robber is calculating. And if someone, perhaps, thinks that this is a figment of the imagination, then let him have a look at Spain.

THE RIVER TRAFFIC ON THE ELBE—A
MEANS OF PRESSURE ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The third international political question, which concerns the vital interests of Czechoslovakia, is the wilful annulment of the so-called River Acts by Germany. To begin with, this example shows anew what value international agreements have in the eyes of the "Third Empire", and internationally guaranteed and controlled agreements at that. This is a lesson for all those who advise Czechoslovakia to renounce its defense agreements with its friends and conclude with Germany, only between Czechoslovakia and Germany, an agreement without any guarantee of a third power. Hitler has already torn up a number of agreements,

which were guaranteed by England, and everybody can figure out for himself how Hitler will treat an agreement not guaranteed by anyone. Such an agreement would clearly mean for him less than a mere scrap of paper. And if anyone in Czechoslovakia has possibly forgotten this purely Hitler attitude toward pacts and agreements, then the annulment of the River Acts could remind him of it. One can see at a first glance that this act affects Czechoslovakia more than any other country, because Hamburg and the River Elbe are the main arteries for the foreign trade of Czechoslovakia. Formerly Czechoslovakia had international guarantees that Germany would not swindle and exploit it. Formerly there were certain international obligations and international control. Now, however, the situation is changed, because Hitler has freed himself from international obligations and international control on the Elbe, in Hamburg and elsewhere; and thus Czechoslovakia, too, has lost its international guarantees.

If Germany of today were not fascist Germany, then the annulment of the international guarantees would not be so bad for Czechoslovakia. With a democratic Germany, which respects agreements, it would be possible to come to a mutual understanding without any third party. As it is, however, the situation is different, more dangerous, much more dangerous, because the Czechoslovakian traffic on the Elbe becomes the object for exploitation and pressure upon Czechoslovakia on the part of the "Third Empire"; exploitation and pressure not only on the economic field but particularly in the political sense. It is possible for fascist Germany now, whenever it chooses, to take Czechoslovakia by the throat; either you give in in such and such matter or we will subject you to such conditions of traffic on the Elbe that will make it hot for you. That's the way things stand now.

And in view of such a statement of affairs it is incomprehensible that the

government undertakes nothing to protect the threatened interests of the Republic. Some may say perhaps that it is not necessary, since Germany has declared that in practice on the Elbe and in Hamburg everything will remain as it was. But where is the guarantee that Germany will not declare something else tomorrow? Who is fool enough to take Hitler's word for anything and at a moment when he has torn up the old agreements? It is clear that in such a case, too, the promises of the "Third Empire" are not worth a penny.

WE WANT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES

Therefore, we propose that Czechoslovakia should put before the League of Nations the question of the one-sided denouncing of the River Acts by Germany and should demand international guarantees, so that Germany should be forced to respect her obligations. Some may say that this will not accomplish anything. We say that this is exactly the trouble, that up to the present time the fascist states have succeeded in doing everything with impunity, that those affected always only shrugged their shoulders with resignation and declared that nothing could be done. We are convinced that if from the very beginning proper, determined and energetic steps had been taken, the fascists would not be so puffed up. But ordinary common sense tells us that from the continuous retreats before fascist provocations, which have thus far taken place, one may not draw the conclusion that the wisest policy is that of endless concessions. Some day we will have to put an end to it, and it is exactly Czechoslovakia that is in the most vital manner interested in this.

THE INTERNAL REGIME AND THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC

I go over now to internal political problems. It is clear that in a situation where the Republic is so seriously threatened by the plots of foreign fascism . . . *[stricken out by the censor]*,

the internal regime is of greatest importance for the defense of the Republic.

It is possible that there may yet be such people in this parliament who, either out of short-sightedness or evil intent, will continue to strive to discredit the positive attitude of the Communists on the question of defense of the Republic, the attitude of one of the strongest parties of the Republic. If, however, these gentlemen can see further than what is immediately under the windows of the Secretariats of their parties, then they must understand what it means when the Communists commit themselves to the defense of the Republic. And they should at least stop their naive and foolish tricks by means of which they are endeavoring, contrary to the interests of the Republic, to discredit our positive attitude on the defense of the Republic. Why, they ask, did not the Communists speak of the defense of the Republic before, say, ten years ago? Why are they doing it only now? Simply because the Republic was not threatened. Therefore, the Communists did not speak of its defense. Today, however, when the Republic is in danger, the biggest party in the Government is dominated by people who want to sell the Republic to Hitler. [*Shouts of approval from Communist Deputies.*]

Why did the Communists proclaim the right of nationalities to self-determination up to secession and today they say that they will not give up a single village to Hitler, Horthy or Filsudski? Well, simply because the carrying through of what the Communists defended and proposed would have resulted in that at the present time in the Republic we would have had no Henlein, no Esterhazy, no Sidor, Fencik or Wolf, simply nobody who would have flirted with Berlin, Warsaw or Budapest.

Why, they ask, do the Communists vote against the State Budget, including the budget for the army, if they really are for the defense of the Republic? Well, simply because or, rather, just because we want real defense of the Republic do

we vote against the proposed budget. To vote for the budget would mean that we express confidence in the present government, while we, and with us the great majority of the people, have no confidence in it . . . [*stricken out by the censor*]. We should vote for Machnik's budget? . . . [*Stricken out by the censor.*]

[DEPUTY ESNER: "It is the budget of the Republic and not Machnik's budget!"]

But Machnik dominates it at the present moment. We simply place no confidence in the present regime and our distrust is justified in all respects.

THE GOVERNMENT LOOKS COMPLACENTLY AT THE REFUSAL OF THE MANU- FACTURERS TO YIELD

One need not be particularly clever to understand that the real readiness to defend the Republic with arms in hand presupposes a certain satisfaction of the social and economic interests of the active participants in this defense. In other words, it is necessary to give the people work and bread if you want to have success in demanding from the people that they defend the Republic. But what do we see in our country? It is a fact that the self-evident necessity of raising the standard of living of the toiling people is simply ignored. [*An interjection by Deputy Curik.*] There are few countries in Europe where the productivity of labor is as high as in Czechoslovakia, but, at the same time, there are few countries where the standard of living is as low as ours. [*Interjection by the woman deputy Mrkosova.*] What becomes of the difference? It is clear that it is flowing into the pockets of the capitalists.

When production and the number of people employed were shrinking the employers had the upper hand everywhere, and they demanded reductions of wages. They claimed that we were suffering from a crisis and it was impossible to pay such high wages. Today production and the number of employed are rising, but it does not enter the head of any one

of the gentlemen employers to just as quickly share the increased income with his workers. Thus we have today such a situation, that although production and the number of the employed are rising, and profits are rising, too, the subsistence level does not rise but, on the contrary, in many cases is sinking and the workers are compelled today to fight with the employers over every miserable increase in wages to compensate for the high prices. If one really cares for the defense of the Republic, how can one tolerate such a state of affairs? How can one tolerate thousands and millions of people suffering from undernourishment, while there exists the real, material possibility for satisfying their demands? And the Government? The Government does not in this case raise a finger to bring pressure upon the manufacturers to compel them to yield to the moderate demands of the workers concerning wages. [*Interjection by Deputy Curik.*]

One may, perhaps, say that the Government has no influence on wages and their regulation, that the Government cannot dictate to the manufacturers and tell them what wages they may or may not pay. Well then, let us take the question of high prices. In Czechoslovakia nearly everything is under control of trusts. We have more than 900 trusts. All goods are handled by the trusts. Prices of nearly all commodities are fixed by the trusts. Everybody curses the high prices. Even Stribrny is agitating in his little sheet against trusts, and against high prices. The ministers of the Cabinet speak against them. Hodza spoke against them. In short everybody is against the trusts. There is in this parliament probably not a single person who would dare to stand up here and say: the trusts are all right and I am also for their price policy. Well then, all are against the trusts and the high prices. But the prices still remain at a high level. The trusts fix high prices as they please and the Government does not interfere, although it has the right and

the legal possibility of doing so. If, perhaps, we are told that the present law is not sufficient, then let the Government submit to Parliament a new law against the trusts. I would like to see who here in the Parliament would dare to vote against such a law. But the Government does not do so. This means that the trusts and monopolies have in this case more influence on the Government's decisions than the demand of the broadest sections of the public.

THE INTERESTS OF THE MUNITION MANUFACTURERS ARE HIGHER THAN THOSE OF THE REPUBLIC

Business for the munition industry is very good. The state pays high prices for the products of this industry, the workers are receiving miserable wages, and for the miserable increase in wages to compensate for the high cost of living, the workers are compelled to put up such a fight against the heavy moneybags that it makes one indignant. The chief purchaser of the products of the munition industry is the state. And logically the question is raised—why is the munition industry not nationalized, why shouldn't the profits amassed by a Schneider, a Loewenstein and generally by the proprietors of the Skoda Works (Vrany, too, has some stocks), why should not all these amassed profits be put into the treasury of the state if they are in reality profits from state funds? It would be both logical and useful. The state would have the products of this industry at a lower cost, the workers could have better wages, the tax-payers would not have to pay so much in taxes for armaments, in short, everything speaks for the necessity of nationalizing this industry.

However, just at this time we are witnessing an unheard-of scandal. All at once the public learns that at a time when there was no money in the treasury of the state, when money was borrowed at a high rate of interest . . . [*stricken out by the censor*] that just at that time the state threw into the wide mouth of

the Skoda Works a lump sum of 250,000,000 kronas of Government money, more than the whole stock of the Skoda Works is worth. Nobody knew anything about it, neither Parliament, nor the public, nor the Commission for Savings and Control. With such money it surely would have been possible to buy up directly the Skoda Works. Two hundred and fifty million Czech kronas were given, years have passed, the State has placed orders, the Skoda Works have delivered what was ordered, have sent bills and so the debt of the Skoda Works was wiped out. How could the Government permit such a thing? It surely is only because the interests of the munition manufacturers stand higher in the eyes of the Government than the interests of the Republic.

These few examples already show clearly that the social and economic policy of the present government does not correspond with the interests of the Republic.

And what shall one say, for instance, about what the offices of the Minister of and Interior are doing in German territories; if we consider the whole matter from the standpoint of the defense of the Republic? What is the Ministry of the Interior doing in the German territories with the unemployment relief? In the German territories the district officials and the offices of the Ministry of the Interior are striking masses of names systematically off the lists for Czech cards. (These cards, named after and introduced by the Social-Democratic Minister Dr. Czech, entitles the unemployed to a small food ration.) Thousands of families whose bread-winners have already been out of work for half a year, families who live in misery which nobody here can have even imagined, have the last ten krone robbed from them. On the whole, the question here is about a trifling sum, about a few million kronas. . . . [Stricken out by the censor.]

[DEPUTY CURIK: "Everything there was exaggerated by Dr. Czech!"]

You should have seen it there for yourself, how exaggerated it is!

[DEPUTY DUBICKY: "A revision is needed there!"]

A revision is needed in the Ministry of Agriculture! [Shouting.] But listen, you gentlemen, the Czech patriots! If we had given for the German territory hundreds of millions and not the miserable Czech cards, then it is in the interests of the defense of the Republic.

[DEPUTY DUBICKY: "You will agitate there again against the Republic!"]

. . . [Stricken out by the censor.] And people of this kind [pointing at the Henlein people] owe their existence chiefly to these and similar methods! [Shouting.]

THE NATIONAL POLICY UPSIDE DOWN

In such and in a similar way the poor German people are tortured and maltreated, but the fascist swastika agitation of the Henlein chiefs is enjoying perfect freedom. This is a national policy put directly upside down. The German little man is irritated, fooled, cheated, pursued and at the same time the people who are making use of his justifiable discontent in the interest of Hitler are enjoying freedom of action. We have proposed to the Government ways and means of securing a democratic adjustment of relations between the Czechs and Germans. In the coalition papers, too, they are writing now about some adjustment, but unfortunately it is only written and talked about, but nothing is being done. And still the German question is a vital question for the Republic.

What should be done in this respect in the interest of the defense of the Republic? To give to the Germans what belongs to them, to give it to them not only on paper, but in reality, and at the same time, to step strongly on the toes of those gentlemen who believe that Hitler's Berlin is the center of the universe and that Goebbels' Ministry is the only fountainhead of wisdom. However, the Ministry of the Interior evidently has opposite views on all these questions.

But since the Ministry of the Interior does not hang in the air it is clear that ultimately and finally the whole Government is responsible for the policy of this Ministry.

THE UNITED AND PEOPLE'S FRONT IS
THE MEANS THAT WILL FORCE
REACTION TO RETREAT

These are, in my opinion, some weighty reasons, explaining why we do not vote for the budget of the present Government. Some Socialists may reply that they, too, are not enthusiastic over everything that is being done by the Government, that they, too, would wish to have a different policy, but that under the given circumstances it cannot be otherwise.

Well, according to our judgment that is not true at all. The means to force reaction to retreat we find in the united front and the People's Front. We ask, why do not the Socialists employ this means? They say: We don't employ it in order not to irritate reaction, in order not to irritate Vransky in Czechoslovakia and Hitler in Berlin. Well, but Vransky is sufficiently irritated anyhow. Hitler likewise. He cannot be still more irritated. Hitler wants to swallow up Czechoslovakia and Vransky wants to be the commander-in-chief in Czechoslovakia. Well then, how do you want to irritate him still more?

And that it does not pay to retreat before reaction is shown by the experiences of December, 1935, or by the experiences of the months that followed. At that time, as Stivin says, the reaction had covered up the disgrace with the "cloak of forgetfulness". They imagined that men like Vransky would come to their senses, if nobody would remind them of their miscarried putsch of December. But what does experience show? Experience shows that the reactionaries

are at present again on top and so dangerously on top that they are directly endangering the existence of the Republic. What can restrain them? Only the united working class and the middle strata of the city and of the country acting in conjunction with the united working class. The People's Front is just the means to do it.

At present the situation is such that it is more or less the reactionary Agrarians who decide the fate and the composition of the coalition government, the same reactionary Agrarians who lead deputations to Hitler in Goslar. The establishment of the united front in our country would create such a situation that not the fascist gentlemen of the trusts but the democrats, republicans and the people would determine the composition of the government. At present the situation is such that some people are in all seriousness thinking of the establishment of a Right reactionary regime. The establishment of the People's Front would create such a situation where one could think of the establishment of a Left regime of the people in Czechoslovakia, of the establishment of a government of the Left, without the supporters of gentlemen like Vransky, these agents and allies of Hitler.

At present the opponents of the People's Front have still the upper hand in the leadership of the Socialist Parties. Thus far they have still been able to reject the People's Front, although its establishment means security for the vital interests of the Republic. We are, however, convinced that the day is coming, and it is coming soon, when the rank and file of the Socialist Parties will break the sabotage of the enemies of unity, and when in Czechoslovakia, too, the People's Front will be realized. Then the Republic will be able to defeat all plots of our own and foreign fascism. *[Applause of the Communist Deputies.]*

The Militarized Economy of Germany and the Tasks of the Anti-Fascist Struggle

BY F. DENGEL

THE economic crisis has shaken German capitalism to its very foundations. The big German banks, the Deutsche Bank, the Barmstadt Bank and the Dresden Bank have had to close their doors and transfer to state control; great concerns like the steel trust, the big ship-owning companies of Hapag and the Nord-Deutscher Lloyd, and dozens of other limited companies have become insolvent; even before Hitler, they were having to be "subsidized" out of state means.

The crisis showed that it was precisely the traditional supporters of the extreme course, the most out and out representatives of the theory of the dominant role of the German race, the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie, who at the same time had for a long time been also the expounders of German imperialism, who were now incapable of continuing their existence without direct aid from the state. They were those who obtained subsidy after subsidy from the Weimar Republic and after the crash were able to manage their affairs on state means alone.

At the meeting of Thyssen and Krupp and of the leaders of the "Langnamferein"* held in the Dusseldorf and Koeln boards of trade, a definite plan

was fixed upon, with the leaders of the large banks. Under the leadership of this reactionary bourgeoisie, the Hamburg Conference took place, and an agreement was arrived at among all the reactionary and fascist parties and organizations. They were joined also by the Junkers (landowners) who could not be satisfied even with presents of billions from the Weimar Republic.

The reactionary bourgeoisie, having made use of National-Socialist demagoguery to establish fascist dictatorship, pushed forward toward two basic aims: the suppression of the working class and destruction of their organizations on the one hand, and preparations for war for a new division of the world and to rob the peoples of other countries, on the other.

The outrageous aggression of the most reactionary section of the German bourgeoisie can be put down to two main causes. First and foremost, the profound upheaval of German capitalism in consequence of the phenomena produced by the general crisis of capitalism. In no single large capitalist country was the catastrophe caused by the last economic crisis so strong and deep-rooted as in Germany. The second main cause was the defeat suffered by German imperialism in the World War, the loss of colonies, of dominating influence in Central Europe, the Balkans and the Near East, the loss of the greater part of her capi-

* An amalgamation of Rhine-Westphalian employers—the largest employers' organization in the heavy industries of Germany.

tal invested abroad. The most reactionary, aggressive section of the German bourgeoisie are demanding "the right" to dispose of other peoples and rob them, and they "base" their pretensions upon their inability to cope with the problem engendered by the breakdown of capitalism and the general crisis, their inability to provide work and bread to the German people.

The relation of forces in Europe which grew up out of the war stands opposed to these pretensions for a new division of the world and the subordination and robbery of other countries. It is the immediate aim of the fascist section of the German bourgeoisie to change radically the relation of forces in Europe to find a favorable starting point for the violent fulfilment of what it desires. The fascists are preparing for war for hegemony in Europe. This war plan provides for the destruction of the independence of small countries: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, the Baltic countries, Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, Poland. It provides for the destruction of France as a great power. It aims at a new division of the colonies. And this can be achieved only by coming into violent conflict with England. The basis of the fascist war plan is the desire to crush the U.S.S.R. and to divide Soviet territory.

It is this plan which explains the bandit methods used in fascist foreign policy, the arbitrary violation of agreements, the rude interference in the foreign affairs of other countries as, for example, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, as in the case of military intervention in Spain, setting countries and governments one against the other. It is this plan which explains the widespread utilization of all forces, all reserves, people, the whole of economy for purposes of war, in a fashion hitherto unexampled in the history of the world.

Fascist Germany is a menace to all the peaceful populations of the world, it is becoming the center of all the aggressive forces in the world. It is

allied with fascist Italy and military-fascist Japan. It is seeking and finding allies in the arch-reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie in democratic countries.

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German fascism came to power with the active aid of the most reactionary section of the General Staff which was closely connected with Hindenburg. The General Staff at that time kept in the background, keeping up an appearance of "neutrality".

As the plan of universal preparation for war was gradually realized by the Hitler government, the German General Staff more and more boldly came to the forefront. When in 1934 Rosenberg was persistently talking, in accordance with his "theory" of soil and blood, about "unloading the towns", and "reagrarianizing" (returning the workers to the villages), the General Staff published an article soberly laying on record that all attempts to close down factories, to attract industrial workers to the villages, would signify a weakening of the military power of the country. The world political importance of Germany is closely connected with her importance as a powerful industrial country. Military power requires the strengthening and not weakening of the relative position of industry, an increase in the cadres of skilled industrial workers, who are designed to become the backbone of the army today.

Every year the role of the German General Staff in the home, foreign and economic policy of the country under Hitler grows more and more considerable. The fascist "totalitarian" state is becoming more and more a state with a "totalitarian", militarized economy. All the financial resources of Germany were devoted to the service of this militarized economy, new direction was given to foreign trade, building construction was almost entirely subordinated to this aim. Tremendous new factories have been built for war production, the old factories have been radically reorganized. Industry has been cut out in the interests

of strategy: transport, road construction are now dependent upon war preparations. The mass work of the National-Socialists is entirely subordinated to the requirements of armaments, a militarized economy, and preparations for war. This in particular applies to the training and drilling of young men who will be the soldiers of the future. This applies to the whole of the working class, particularly in view of the sharpening policy of militarizing the factories.

The German General Staff, which under Hitler has acquired increased influence over the regulation of German economy, is by no means guided in its work by these or those "theories" invented by the Nazis. The example which he takes is the adaptation of German economy to suit the war which took place in 1914-1918. One of the most prominent teachers of the present leaders of German economy was the Jew Walter Rathenau, and it is particularly ironical that those who followed this man in the sphere of economics were his murderers, and that they praise this murder as a "national" feat.

With a few restrictions, the German General Staff encourages the fact that this extremely real militarization of economy is glossed over with the bright and blending colors of the National-Socialist ideology and propaganda. During the World War, ideological unification took place with the help of slogans, namely, "War to a victorious conclusion", "Hold out whatever happens", and then the German trade unions and the Social-Democratic Party also submitted to these slogans. At the present stage of preparations for the new war, the General Staff cannot with its own forces alone put forward the ideology required for the complete militarization of economy, which demands such sacrifices. All that which the National-Socialist ideologists call "socialism" becomes so much camouflage of the complete militarization of economy.

The National-Socialist regime, which carries out the will of the reactionary,

imperialist bourgeoisie, is satisfying all the requirements of the General Staff; it is handing over to the army the control of the whole of economy, by the direct establishment already now of Goering's economic dictatorship; it is eliminating all controlling, hindering bodies which under any other bourgeois regime would have kept a check upon the militarists with their unrestrained demands. In this respect, fascist dictatorship goes far beyond the framework of a simple military dictatorship. There is no other example of a military dictatorship, if we exclude war times, which has ever so unrestrainedly made use of the whole economy, as fascist dictatorship in Germany is disposing of it today.

The new stage of militarization of economy, which has now been begun by the German fascists with such incredible noise, gives a clear idea of the direction in which German military aims lie: against the West, against France and England. It is a question of preserving the raw materials essential for the latest conduct of war in the event of an effective blockade in the West, i.e., in the event of Germany's attacking in the East of Europe. Goering expressed this clearly in his speech after he had been handed his dictatorial powers for the conduct of the "Four-Year Plan" demanding a division of the world, and colonies for Germany. A few days later Goebbels said:

"After the great construction work which we have carried out in our country, we can now take up the systematic reorientation of our foreign policy. It goes without saying that we shall enter into a struggle with the world for our colonies. We will not deny this. If in connection with the new declaration made by General Goering of our right to German colonies, the English newspapers reply that we have opportunities of buying raw materials, that is an insolent and insulting argument. What does it mean? Do the English newspapers consider the German people are stupid enough not to know about the shortage of foreign currency for the purchase of

raw materials? Of course, we must have raw materials, and since we have none in our own country, we must be afforded a share in the treasures of the world."

In his speech, Goebbels is already speaking in Mussolini's style about "the struggle for our colonies"; and it follows that since neither England nor France will voluntarily concede any colonies, he is speaking about the coming war.

If in his Nuremburg speech Hitler makes it appear that the idea of this new stage of militarized economy was his own, he is only plagiarizing and appropriating for himself the "ideological" property of the German General Staff.

Major Hess wrote the following in the *Deutscher Volkswort* in the spring of last year:

"The soldier demands that the economy of the country be brought into the process of war preparations. He demands that national economy be expanded, and substitutes for the insufficiency of raw materials, and the guarantee of different kinds of reserves. He understands the inevitability, in case of war, of personal mobilization in the interests of economy, of the abolition of freedom of movement, interference of the state in distributing wealth, in the movement of prices and wages and much more."

Here in the form of a categorical demand we have the whole of the "Second Four-Year Plan". This plan also includes a considerable part of what Major Hess demanded only "in case of war"—interference by the state in the distribution of wealth, in the policy governing prices and wages, and partially also the abolition of freedom of movement from one work to another.

More soberly, more drily than Hitler, without his blustering, zigzagging and beating of the breast, Major Hess proclaims also the principles of the labor policy connected with this complete militarization of economy:

"Without moderation, economy and iron, assiduous work, no single people has ever brought itself out of want. And

I am convinced that the German worker will fulfil his duty submissively in regard to the militarized economy even in the event of the government in consequence of difficulties being unable to give him all he would like in the economic sense."

To culminate everything, the new role of the German General Staff, its role as a supreme controlling body, was reinforced by providing Goering and his headquarters with dictatorial powers.

This extensive apparatus for conducting the "Second Four-Year Plan" is actually a General Staff which directs the whole of German militarized economy. The position of command in this economic General Staff is occupied by an army staff officer, Major Loeb. In the organizational plan, the following tasks are entrusted to him:

1. Expansion of the production of German industrial raw materials.
2. Planning and organization of the production of German raw materials.
3. Assistance to research work essential for the realization of the tasks mentioned.
4. Management of the production of mineral oils, including materials imported and others produced outside the Four-Year Plan.

Thus the "Second Four-Year Plan" in the narrowest sense, the realization of Germany's independence in the sphere of raw materials required for warfare, is entrusted directly to a person in army headquarters.

What now are the direct tasks of this General Staff?

First, "the guarantee of different kinds of reserves" (Major Hess). In this respect things look bad. It has been necessary to live sparingly for a long time now, and to work often short time because of the shortage of raw materials. There is no question that the reserves required in case of war have already been created. In his program speech, Goering said:

"Today we are still to a certain extent standing at the beginning. Today we are

experiencing a tremendous shortage of raw materials. In six months' time the position will already have improved, for then we shall be feeling the practical results of a number of measures we have been undertaking. The effect of these measures will be felt in the future to a still greater degree."

But six months hence the new factories for the production of substitutes or artificial raw materials will not yet be working. Consequently, it is obviously a question of new changes in the sphere of foreign trade, of a still greater curtailment of food imports in favor of raw materials required for war.

Second, "substitutes for the insufficient raw materials" (Major Hess). It is a question of building colossal factories, which are important only from the viewpoint of preparations for war. Colossal sums of money are mentioned as being invested in these factories (ten billion and more). The immediate result is a considerable increase in taxation, the further curtailment of private building, primarily for housing, and increased demands for imported raw materials.

Third, "the interference of the state in distributing wealth" (Major Hess), and rationing the consumption of products. In this connection Goering said:

"The statement of the Fuehrer that in all circumstances it is essential to provide a sufficient supply of cheap fats for the people less provided for, is for me sacred. We can achieve this by means of special supply organizations, without ration cards, if each of us will display sufficient sense."

With this is connected, also, the further restriction of freedom of economy of the peasants, the severe restrictions against the free sale of their products on the market. Further, it means the subordination of small trade to irritating bureaucrats, and the further hampering of the handicraftsmen by means of the "distribution of raw materials".

Fourth, the mobilization of people, "state interference in the policy govern-

ing prices and wages" (Major Hess). This signifies the beginning of a period of increased persecution and oppression of the working class, pressure on wages, and the militarization of the factories.

The following is the statement of Dr. Freusler, Secretary of State of the Ministry of Justice, written in the official organ, the *Deutsche Justiz*:

"Who dares now to shake the foundations of our national commune, who in Communist blindness strives to demoralize the solid vital energy of the people, does not belong to those who have been misled and deceived, but is a criminal who must be rendered harmless. . . . He who destroys the peace, the unanimity and, therefore, the strength of the labor in the German factories and plants, is not a misguided Marxist ideologist, but a criminal whom we must destroy." (*Berliner Tageblatt*, October 31, 1936.)

This is a declaration of war against the whole of the German working class. This signifies at the same time a change in the role of the German labor front, in the demagogic methods of its leaders. Goering expressed this thought to Ley, almost in the form of a threat:

"If the task of the guardians of labor appointed by the state is, in all circumstances, to take upon themselves the leadership in questions of wages, to reconcile, and to be responsible in the factories for the preservation of calm, then the German Labor Front must most passionately place the whole of its powerful organization at the service of this plan. . . . Therefore, I shall fight against all destructive forces, against everything that can violate the confidence which exists between the leaders of the factories and those led, against everything that can help the return of old, Marxist, habits."

Speaking of the return of "old Marxist habits", Goering has in mind any form of protest on the part of the workers on questions of wages, conditions of labor, etc., manifestations which are making themselves felt more and more already within the framework of the

Labor Front. The Labor Front is entrusted with the task of putting through with the greatest energy the militarization of the factories demanded by the General Staff and of suppressing the resistance of the workers with the aid of the state apparatus of violence. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* of November 1, in an article on the Four-Year Plan, puts the workers demanding increased wages in the same category with the "speculators" who are liable to penal servitude in the event of their increasing the established prices:

"The skilled worker who responds to every proposal for work at a higher price for wages is also guilty of speculation: he is making use of the difficult situation in his own interests. . . ."

The *Berliner Tageblatt* of November 10 gives information about the six injunctions for "the man empowered to conduct the Goering Four-Year Plan", which in effect are devoted to the question of regulating the hire of workers and employees. Actually they signify the abolition of all freedom of movement in the important categories of labor in Germany (the metal workers and skilled building workers), and their mobilization and subordination to military command. The fact that this is being done not by the Ministry of War and its organs, but by a "civil" body (Goering's general staff) makes no difference.

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The new stage of the "totalitarian" militarization of German economy brings it ever closer to an actual war-time economy with all the awful consequences ensuing therefrom. This "totalitarian" militarized economy means the robbery of the German people. Already during the last few years this militarization of economy has affected the supply of food-stuffs of the German people, as well as their housing, clothing, cultural services and so on, and the consequences can only be physical degeneration. The new Four-Year Plan, the appearance of

which is now clear, will only speed up this process.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* of October 25 published an article entitled "Germany's Dividends", dealing with the prospects of supplies to the German working people. There has been an abnormal change in the "distribution of the national product" since 1933. If the "national income" rose from 43 to 56 billion between 1933 and 1935, this was to the advantage of agriculture, the income from which increased from 6.4 billion in 1933-34 to 8.8 billion in 1935-36. But the state took the lion's share for itself: revenue from taxation alone increased from 5 to 11.6 billions. Even taxation like the tax on economic organizations, which the latter cannot directly evade themselves, affects the position of the workers.

"If the employers," says the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "enjoyed freedom of movement in respect to finances, they could pay higher wages."

Further, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* shows how:

"... the expenditure undertaken according to the new Four-Year Plan, affects distribution. For it is necessary, out of the income from the work of our productive forces, to build up factories for the production of German raw materials . . . the primary expenditure on the organization of this production is also a burden upon the national product. . . . And since it is possible to distribute one and the same product only once, and not twice or thrice, hence there arises the need for reconciling ourselves to restrictions in other spheres."

War is exhausting the German people long before it has begun. The degree to which the forces of the people are being drained by the conduct of the new Four-Year Plan is increasing: the German people are having to burden themselves "with restrictions in other spheres" (food, clothing, housing).

Strange though it may appear, the democratically and pacifically inclined

politicians of Western Europe have clung to the illusion that once German rearmaments have finished there will follow a return to "peaceful economy". Now they are beginning to see. Instead of a slackening of the rate of armaments, there is increasing armaments. *Hitler Germany is preparing to begin war in such a state of preparedness that she can utilize to the full all her industry and human resources.* She wants, right at the beginning of the war, to have at her disposal a "totalitarian" militarized economy, trained and working for purposes of war, and use this opportunity to conquer the enemy. All the working people: workers, peasants and working people of the middle strata, have now to live "as in wartime" under a militarized system of economy.

This, of course, will lead to fascist Germany entering the war with impoverished, dissatisfied workers and peasants, emaciated by hunger, and undernourishment.

What is most characteristic in this militarized German economy is that the return to "peacetime economy" is impossible without a political and economic revolution. Almost the whole of the accumulated capital is invested in war enterprises, its "paying capacity" depends upon ever increasing armaments and the war itself. The debts incurred by the National-Socialists in connection with armaments represent over 40 billion marks, while only an insignificant part of these debts are backed by securities. Private capital to a large extent is being invested in the war industry, and their "paying capacity" depends on the military-economic enterprises. The deeper the National-Socialists involve themselves in this way, the more do they produce "guns instead of butter"—this slogan is again very fashionable now—and the more persistently does the reactionary German bourgeoisie raise the question of "realizing" these colossal capital investments. The "totalitarian" militarized economy of Hitler Germany

is ever more increasingly reducing the possibility of any return to "peacetime economy", under the present regime. It is ever more surely converting the war of expansion into an immediate question of the existence of the regime and of reactionary big capital, which constitutes one whole with the regime.

Millions of German workers and peasants were misled by Hitler's talk about peace. They believed Hitler's rearmaments had only one aim—Germany's "equal rights"—and that when this aim had been achieved hard times would pass. Now they have learned a great deal. German fascism is not interested in "equal rights"; it is striving after the conquest of foreign lands, after imperialist hegemony in Europe, after the seizure of colonies. This is why the German workers are being forced henceforth to starve and strain, to live worse than ever before. And the prospects before them are death in the trenches, devastation in the homeland, the annihilation of hundreds of thousands and millions of not only men, but women and children.

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Many thousands of Communists, Social-Democrats and other anti-fascists are fighting in Germany in the most difficult conditions of fascist bloody terror against Hitler's policy of war and violence. The menacing words of Goering about the return "of old Marxist habits", the rabid threats of Freusler, State Secretary in the German Ministry of Justice, reveal the spite of the fascists, infuriated by the results of this underground struggle and the growing resistance in the factories. The hatred felt against the fascist policy of war and violence was expressed, for example, in the monetary collections in aid of the Spanish fighters against fascism in many parts of Germany, although persecution is waged against these collections as against treason, as connections with a foreign enemy. The *Neuer Vorwaerts* of November 22 prints correspondence from Upper Silesia giving the following information:

"The employers' union in Gleuicze sent a report to the Berlin authorities a few days ago. In it there is the frank statement that the industrialists can no longer guarantee that social peace will be preserved during the winter. There has been such a swing to the Left inside the National-Socialist organizations that it directly favors the opposition to be found inside the ranks of the working class. There are manifestations of open hostility towards the foremen, so that it is possible to speak of sabotage of production; in this connection definite losses are already to be observed in production."

The Communist and Social-Democratic workers are acting jointly in many parts in the fight for their common cause, for the overthrow of the fascist regime, for the establishment of a peaceful, democratic republic of Germany. The example of France and Spain and their own bitter experience have already converted a number of old Social-Democratic leaders into supporters of the united front and the People's Front. But the Social-Democratic leadership still continues to oppose the united front.

If we ponder over the causes which explain these tactics, it must be recorded that the leaders of German Social-Democracy in general are not against the united front. They accept the united front in Spain and France. They even criticize in their press the vacillations and weak points in the Blum government which, by its foreign policy, is creating illusions concerning the possibility of "taming" German fascism. Sometimes they strongly criticize the cowardly opposition of the reactionary leaders of the British Labor Party.

In the *Zeitschrift für Sozialismus*, No. 36 (the organ of the Central Committee of the German Social-Democrats), Paul Sering talks of the defeat of the working class in Germany and the People's Front in France:

"In Germany the working class movement was conquered by fascism in consequence of the fact that it subordinated

its class struggle to the 'general struggle of the people', and in effect to bourgeois interests. In this way it weakened its class power and so became incapable of conducting any struggle for power, and of adopting any Socialist decision. All the oaths of all the leaders of the working class movement to the effect that they support national interests (and during the last few years before the coup d'état both parties frequently swore to this)* could not produce any results in view of the deviation from the class

struggle [and this, it stands to reason, refers only to one of both working class parties.—F.D.]. The working class movement in France during the last few months has proved that the proletarian class struggle and a fruitful alliance with the middle classes, the struggle for wages and the struggle for the nation do not contradict, but only supplement each other. The more resolutely this alliance acts against big capital, the more stable it will be, the stronger will be the strength of the government. If the government, because of pseudo-national interests, leaves its proletarian basis, it will rapidly lose also the support of the middle strata."

We might give dozens of quotations from the *Neuer Vorwärts*, from the illegally circulated Social-Democratic newspaper *Sozialistische Aktion* in Germany, etc., where is to be found an understanding of the need for the united front and the People's Front in the struggle for the overthrow of German fascism.

What hinders the Social-Democratic leadership from drawing the conclusions from this admission? The Social-Democratic leadership considers that war is inevitable. True, if there is no strong resistance to the regime of ever increasing exploitation and, finally, if this regime is not overthrown, then war is inevitable. But the National-Socialists have not destroyed classes, have not brought about

* Sering has in mind the Communist Party and Social-Democracy.

"national unity"; on the contrary, class contradictions were never so deep as today, and they are becoming more and more tense. Among the broad masses of the peasantry, among the middle strata in the towns, dissatisfaction and hatred are growing toward the regime, and there are favorable premises for the realization of an alliance between the working class and these middle strata. And this means that already today it is possible and necessary to conduct a struggle against war, as against fate itself.

In leading Social-Democratic circles there is no serious belief in the possibility of a struggle against this "fate". This fatalism coincides with the widespread feelings inside Germany itself which sometimes penetrate into the ranks of the Communists as well. In this article already mentioned, Paul Sering speaks of the war danger in a tone of considerable alarm. He says:

"German fascism has concentrated all its forces upon war preparations. This refers not only to armaments, to economy, to foreign policy, but also to home policy. For months already preparations for war have been going on inside the country—mass arrests of former functionaries among the workers, who were suspected without any foundation of being active politically, are taking place now exclusively because of the preparations being made in case of danger. There is another side as well which is not so well known: preparations for concessions in respect of those who, in case of war, will be prepared to favor Hitler's war.

"It is planned for concessions to be made in the sphere of the Labor Front, in the direction of the trade unions; there is a section of former functionaries among the workers who are considered sufficiently mature 'for constructive activities' in order that, in return for those concessions, they should render assistance to the government in case of war, using the confidence which their names inspire. Moreover, they are count-

ing upon voluntary 'unification' for national reasons in case of war."

What conclusions does Paul Sering draw from this?

In concluding his article, polemizing against Otto Strasser, the leader of those National-Socialists and Nationalists who have split away, he says:

"In an article written against Social-Democracy, Strasser at one time put forward a proposal for a 'national front' against the alliance with the Communists on the basis of the People's Front. In the light of the war danger the seriousness of such an alternative is clear. It becomes absolutely imperative, in view of this danger, that a common front of all anti-fascists be formed. In the event of war, all the forces of democracy will be on the side of the Soviet Union, and consequently will join in a common front with the Communists. All those who propose a 'national front' to eliminate the influence from Moscow, like Doriot in France, will 'unite together'. If we are not mistaken, Strasser of late has rejected the idea of the 'national front'. Has he realized that during the war there will be only two fronts: with Hitler or against Hitler? It is time that at any rate all Social-Democrats understood this."

In principle Paul Sering is for the united front and considers it essential. But if in the face of the war danger which he himself characterizes, he says nothing about the struggle against this danger which it is essential to conduct immediately, in regard to unity he is satisfied with making platonic declaration to the effect that during the war it is essential to establish a united front of anti-fascists. He reduces the whole question as he raises it, to the following: what will happen in the event of war? This is rather an attempt to lull the forces which are forging ahead in the ranks of German Social-Democracy. This position distracts the attention from the actual task and from the present concrete struggle. Aye, and finally, it is simply idle chatter: to consider the

united front essential in the event of war and at the same time to say nothing about the need for the united front at the present time.

The Social-Democratic leadership underestimates not only the force of resistance of the German people to the war danger, the growing resistance to this danger in other countries; it also underestimates the forces of the supporters of peace throughout the world. The most reactionary section of the German bourgeoisie is fully aware also of the risk of war. The behavior of the governments in the democratic countries of Western Europe in connection with the war being waged for freedom by the Spanish people against fascism shows, it is true, that they are still not sufficiently united and determined; the mass movement against war has still not acquired sufficient strength and solidarity. But it would be totally incorrect to conclude from this that all the roads are open to fascist Germany, that it can wage a "localized" war in this or that direction. The behavior of the governments of the democratic countries of Western Europe is encouraging the aggressiveness of German fascism, just as it is encouraging the aggressiveness of Italian fascism. But there is not the slightest doubt that the attempts of Hitler Germany to create favorable conditions for his aggression will meet with still growing difficulties.

Hitler has succeeded in obtaining a partial success. But the point must not be ignored that the vital interests of France and England and also of the small states of Central and Eastern Europe are at stake. And besides this, all the hesitations of the democratic countries of Western Europe cannot "tire out" the Soviet Union, cannot force it to reject the policy of collective security, the policy of defending all peaceful countries against fascist aggressors, which policy it is conducting with iron consistency.

This is the position as regards foreign policy. As for the home policy of Ger-

many, there are moments which are strongly felt, and which prophesy not only an intensification of class contradictions, but also an increase in the resistance of the workers and peasants. We have already referred to the correspondence from Upper Silesia in the *Neuer Vorwaerts*. The National-Socialists themselves report numerous arrests of peasants who are no longer observing the regulations governing market trading and the killing of cattle, and who do not want to reconcile themselves to the dictatorship of fixed prices.

The National-Socialists reply to this with still further increased terror. But neither terror nor demagoguery nor the inflaming of chauvinist sentiments is able for long to drown the cries of hunger and suppress the feeling of humiliation of the workers and peasants, to eliminate the profound dissatisfaction current among the toiling peasantry, the artisans and small traders in connection with their privations, and uncertainty of what the morrow will bring. From all corners of Germany there are countless reports concerning symptoms of demoralization in the basis and among the rank-and-file officials of the National-Socialists. Symptoms of this kind can be seen in the Labor Front, among the storm detachments, in the organizations of artisans and peasants.

These phenomena, partly frank hostility, partly deep dissatisfaction with the fascist regime, are fed by the prosperity of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the resistance offered to fascism by the People's Front in Spain, and in France, the defense of the interests of the working people given by this People's Front. Why otherwise should Hitler, who in his speech in the Reichstag in May, 1935, was already referring to the "democratic constitution" of Germany and declaring, having in mind English public opinion, that Germany "does not retreat from the principles of democratic state structure", why, otherwise, should Hitler later, at Nuremberg, and then again still more sharply in his speech about or-

ganizing winter aid, why then should he now foam at the mouth and condemn all kinds of democracy in general? Hitler feels that the movement of the People's Front in other countries threatens to infect the German people as well. That is why he is beside himself in his efforts to depict this magnificent movement of resistance to fascism and war as a "Moscow plot", that is why the Nazis are badgering and slandering the People's Front in Spain and France.

The opposition to the Hitler regime, more or less obvious, more or less developed, is not limited to the working class. It covers ever wider circles of the peasantry and middle strata of the towns, the intellectuals and, as well, certain sections of the small and middle capitalists, whose existence is also partly menaced by the militarization of economy and the privileges afforded to big capital.

Among all these sections of the people there is a growing longing for freedom, for democratic rights. Among all these sections, with greater or less clarity, there is an awakening to the understanding that fascist dictatorship in effect is a dictatorship of a narrow strata of reactionary, imperialist big capitalists. Among all these sections of the people there is growing up a desire to defend themselves against the monstrous exploitation and robbery, against the danger which is menacing their very existence.

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And so in Germany there are also growing up subjective premises for the development of a broad movement of the People's Front against fascism and for a democratic Germany. Although the desire to fight for a new democratic Germany is expressing itself in different, sometimes nebulous and confused forms, there nevertheless exists a unanimous conviction that there can be no return of the Weimar Republic, no coalition with the reactionary bourgeoisie, that a democracy is required, resting upon a

firm, militant alliance of workers and the rest of the toiling masses of the people.

On this most important question there exist no really serious differences between the Communists and the Social-Democrats. Those differences on questions of tactics which still exist can be overcome in the process of close collaboration.

The position of late of the *Neuer Vorwaerts* on questions of labor and wages illustrates a clear removal from the passive, attendant tactics which for a long time have defined the policy of the Prague leadership of German Social-Democracy. We Communists are in complete agreement with the Social-Democratic leadership that the development on all sides of the movement of the workers in the factories for higher wages acquires, at the present time, tremendous importance, that it constitutes so many concrete forms of struggle against war.

If the Communists and Social-Democrats were to come to an agreement on joint action, such an agreement would undoubtedly have a favorable influence upon this movement, would hasten its development. The increasing anti-fascist movement in Germany among the workers as a result of the united front would be so much support also for the democratic forces in the ranks of the Catholics, who rely upon the Catholic workers and Catholic petty bourgeoisie, and such support is essential for them in the struggle against reactionaries in their own camp, against the policy of the Vatican, which is striving after "reconciliation" with Hitler. The Social-Democratic Party leadership is aware of the fact that the Catholic workers inside Germany itself are working shoulder to shoulder with the Communists and Social-Democrats, that the opposition to the fascist regime is particularly strong among the Catholic peasant population and the Catholic petty bourgeoisie, that the views of the lower clergy frequently by no means coincide with the views of

the upper clergy, that among the broad masses of the Catholic people there lives a desire to resist fascism. If the working class parties will unite for joint anti-fascist action, these people will be drawn at a more rapid rate into the broad movement of the People's Front against the Hitler regime, against his economic policy, against all his policy at home and abroad.

The movement among the peasants and artisans today is clearly lacking in leadership. Numerous cases of spontaneous activity on the part of the peasants are taking place. The working class movement must not regard these middle sections of the people who are seized with unrest today as mere allies of the future. They must become allies today, and to a certain degree this is already the case. Therefore, it is the task of the working class movement to support the demands, the activities, the interests of the working peasants, the artisans, the small traders; it is the task of the working class movement to help them.

By their joint efforts, the Social-Democrats and the Communists will succeed in making links in the localities with the leaders of the peasants, the artisans,

etc., with the Christian democratic leaders of these sections of the people, and in joining forces with them on a common platform of struggle.

The question of joint action between the Communists and Social-Democrats is a question of the will to fight for the interests of the people. There is nothing that can leave any shadow of doubt as to the possibility of uniting on a platform of joint struggle.

The crimes of the Hitler regime against the German people and the Spanish people, and still more the monstrous crime which this regime is planning in provoking European war, demand that its opponents mobilize all their forces. They demand not only the greatest exertion but also the most expedient action. It is clear that the most expedient thing to do is to act jointly.

The reply to the "totalitarian" military policy of the Hitler regime, the reply to the new stage of direct preparations for war, must be united action between the Communists and Social-Democrats, which is the starting point for the rallying of all forces hostile to the regime and to its war policy, of all those who are dissatisfied with it.

Questions of Unity Among the Youth

BY RAYMOND GUYOT

THE YOUTH OF THE WHOLE WORLD TO THE
AID OF REPUBLICAN SPAIN!

THE unity of the whole anti-fascist youth movement is necessary to bar the road against fascism, and to overthrow fascism where it is in power.

The democratic youth of the whole world must set all the available machinery in motion to support the Spanish people who are heroically fighting for freedom.

The Communist youth movements and the anti-fascist and democratic youth movements of the world have displayed great activity in coming to the aid of the Spanish people. We can point joyfully to splendid examples of solidarity in a large number of countries, in particular in France, England, Belgium and America. Inspired by the example of the Soviet youth, the anti-fascist youth organizations in the capitalist countries, including the Communist youth organizations, are conducting a campaign in aid of republican Spain.

Many of our Leagues and the anti-fascist youth organizations of different countries have hundreds of representatives, young Communists and young anti-fascists, in the International Brigade which is fighting in Spain. Many of them have already sacrificed their lives in the cause of freedom.

However, we cannot be satisfied with

the results already achieved. Our international campaign has not yet developed as it should and could. From this point of view the conference which is to be held in Paris in December is of great importance. This conference, which is being held at the initiative of the Spanish comrades, will bring together representatives of all the youth organizations, of all the youth papers which sympathize with the struggle of the Spanish people. The success of this conference will give new impetus to the international campaign.

The aim of the solidarity movement is above all to end the blockade of the lawful republican government and to put a stop to the help the fascist states are giving to the rebel generals, Franco and Mola.

The leaders of the united Communist and Socialist youth movements in Belgium have taken an excellent initial step in calling a conference of the Socialist and Communist youth movements of that country, England, and France to seek out the best means of assisting the Spanish people.

This step of the leaders of the united Socialist and Communist youth movements of Belgium has already met with the approval of the Socialist and Communist youth movements of Belgium, England and Italy, of the International of Socialist Students, of the International Committee of Communist Stu-

dents, and of the Young Communist League in France. We regret to say, however, that the Socialist youth of France have not rallied to this proposal.

There is no country in the world where this question of the unification of the anti-fascist youth movements is not being raised today in the most varied forms.

THE SUCCESSES WON BY THE UNITED
COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST YOUTH
MOVEMENTS OF SPAIN

In Spain not only do our comrades know how to fight heroically and courageously against the fascist enemy; our comrades of the Y.C.L. (Young Communist League) and the Y.S.L. (Young Socialist League) know how to do their part in mobilizing all the anti-fascist and democratic forces and organizations against fascism.

Comrade Carillo, Secretary of the united Spanish youth organization, declared at a meeting in Madrid: "The Communist Party, and with it, the United Socialist Youth Leagues, are leading the fight for the defense of Madrid."

Everyone knows the great upsurge created in Spain when the Young Socialist and Communist Leagues were united; before joining forces they had, together, about 40,000 members, but six months after had reached a membership of 150,000. The United Youth League now owns its own daily paper.

We have not forgotten that at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. voices were raised among the Socialist youth accusing us of opportunism and asserting that the decisions of the Sixth Congress would lead to the destruction of the revolutionary spirit of the youth.

As a matter of fact it is the contrary that has taken place. The appeal of the United Youth League of Spain says:

"Our critics tried to prove that we had abandoned our revolutionary character. Facts have given the lie to those who criticized us. At decisive moments

the youth of the whole of Spain, Catalonia and Biscay have fought with honor in the vanguard. The Federation of United Socialist Youth Leagues has held high the revolutionary banner."

Continuing to work in this direction so as to conquer fascism, our comrades, united young Socialists and Communists of Spain, are carrying out the instructions given by Comrade Dimitroff at the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I.:

"March boldly along the path of unity with the Socialist Youth League and form with them single joint organizations.

"March boldly along the path leading to the unity of all the forces of the anti-fascist youth."

Our comrades in Spain, not content with the results obtained, are working for the unification of all the anti-fascist youth organizations, including the Republican Youth and the Anarchist Youth organizations. Two factors contribute to this: In the first place, the Republican Youth and the Anarchist Youth organizations have changed in the heat of the anti-fascist struggle and, above all, of the war against fascism, and have become ardent fighters against fascism.

The General Secretary of the Left Republican Youth, Antonio Munios, who has been seriously wounded at the front, told me in the course of an interview which I had with him in the hospital:

"We Republicans were convinced formerly that we could attain our ideal of democracy and freedom peaceably. We were against revolution and arms.

"Today all our illusions have fled.

"Whether we will or not, we are forced to take up arms to defend ourselves against the violence of the reaction."

The same might be said of the Anarchist Youth. Already these young people are beginning to criticize and revise the false theories on the power of the state, on the army, discipline, and the army command—and all these facts help all

these groups of young people to work in common.

In the second place, a serious change has come about in our own ranks. The Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. called on us to make a change in our work. Very few of our Leagues have had the necessary courage to say that we are arranging our work on new lines. We no longer want to be sectarians, despising the anti-fascist and democratic youth movements; we want to collaborate with them, to seek the best ways and means of achieving unity.

The role of the Y.C.I. is not to be a second Communist Party, a copy of the C.P.; our task, as Comrade Dimitroff pointed out, is to:

"... find such ways, such forms and methods of work as will assure the formation, in the capitalist countries, of a *new type* of mass youth organizations, to which no vital interest of the toiling youth will be alien, organizations which, without copying the Party, will fight for *all* the interests of youth, will bring up the youth in the spirit of the class struggle, of proletarian internationalism, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism." (See *The Communist International*, November, 1935.)

The new facts which are changing the Republican and Anarchist youth movements and which have dictated our change of line are the coming to power of Hitler and the menace of international fascism. The question of a joint struggle in defense of democracy against fascism has thus been raised.

In order to unite the anti-fascist youth organizations in Spain still more, the Socialist and Communist youth organizations, the youth of the Republican Left and the Republican Union, and the Federated Republican Youth organizations decided in the beginning of November to form a national coordination committee. They have issued a joint appeal and are beginning to work together at the front and in the rear, endeavoring

to rally all the youth of the working class, petty bourgeoisie, and peasantry.

THE UNITED FRONT OF THE YOUTH IN FRANCE

For already more than two years the united front achieved in France between the Young Communist and Young Socialist organizations has considerably helped to form a barrier against the fascist offensive. But fascism is still strong and menacing in France. It is more necessary than ever, therefore, in the period before us, to strengthen to the utmost this unity between the Young Communists and the Young Socialists.

It is regrettable that under these circumstances some leaders of the Young Socialist League and of the Socialist Party should have acted on a number of occasions in a manner detrimental to the cause of unity. Thus Bernard Chochoy, the General Secretary of the Young Socialist League, at the time of the trial of the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bandits, tried to divert the activities of the Young Socialist Leagues towards an anti-Soviet struggle. He likewise opposed a resolution calling on the French government to revise its policy of non-intervention in Spain.

No one can deny that these elements hamper the strengthening of the united front between the Young Socialist organizations and the Young Communist organizations in France. Yet there are many factors in France which favor the unity movement. There exists a uniting center which coordinates the activities of all the anti-fascist and democratic youth movements. This center is active in several spheres: the campaign of solidarity with Spain, support for the demands of the youth, the soldiers, etc. Another important factor is the reorganization of the League of Communist Youth. This was the first task set by the Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. In accordance with the advice of Comrade Dimitroff, the task of the League was to have done with small, exclusively political

and sectarian organizations and to begin the formation of great mass organizations to meet the aspirations of the youth in the sphere of organization and education.

In this respect the French Y.C.L. can serve as an example. Thanks to its general policy of unity, which responds to the feelings of the youth, and thanks also to reorganization, it has today over 100,000 members.

Comrades often think that reorganization is purely an organizational question. It must not be narrowed down to just that. Reorganization involves all the activities of the Young Communist movement.

Comrade Michant, the leader of the French Y.C.L., defining the role of the Y.C.L., said:

"The Young Communist League is an organization for action, education and amusement. . . . Nothing that engages the minds of young people is outside our sphere."

Then Comrade Michant develops his idea, the scout movement, athletics, aviation, touring—all questions which interest us. He says: We are in favor of a simple, pleasing mode of life, in keeping with the traditions and customs of our country. And he adds: "The Young Communist League is a permanent university." Recalling what Lenin said on education, our comrade proposes methods such as literary circles, music, theater and cinema circles, etc. Finally he concludes: We are in favor of an organization which will fully serve the interests of the youth. And he quotes the example of the activity of the Y.C.L. in strikes, during the occupation of the factories, when the Young Communist Leaguers brought food to the strikers, and organized concerts which contributed to the discipline in the factory occupied.

The Young Communist League is an organization of public utility and social aid. We help all young workers who toil for a livelihood and especially those who are unemployed. Finally, Comrade Mich-

ant issues the slogan calling for the establishment of a People's Confederation of Anti-Fascist Youth Organizations.

New forms of work must also be included in this reorganization, particularly the formation of special clubs for girls; the question of an independent league for girls will be raised in a practical fashion at a Congress of young women to be held on December 25 next. This movement is as yet only in its initial stages, but it already has over 10,000 members. It has a paper called *Young Girls of France*, with a circulation of 15,000.

An important sphere of activity is work in the factory. After the election victory of the People's Front, and that of the June strikes, the trade union and the Communist movements became legal in the factories. Thus, for example, in the Renault motor works there are 30,000 trade unionists and 6,000 Communist Party cell members.

These examples show the legal possibilities at our disposal in the factories. It must be admitted, however, that the work of the youth in this sphere has gone very slowly. It was not possible for us, nor should we have tried, to form cells like those of the Communist Party—that was not practical; experience has shown something very interesting in this respect. Young Workers' Friendly Societies are now beginning to be organized in the factories, with the assistance of the Y.C.L. and Y.S.L., and according to all evidence these may become the basis of a huge movement.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN BELGIUM

How far have we got with unity in Belgium? The National Unity Congress of the Y.C.L. and the Y.S.L. will be held there on December 25 and the Y.C.I. is invited to send a representative.

The Y.C.L. and the Y.S.L. have already a joint paper in Belgium, the second joint paper, after Spain, of the united youth movement,

Among the results obtained by the Belgian youth movement along the path to unity we must quote one more. The Secretary of the Young Socialist Guards, Fernand Godefroy, was paying too much heed to the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites; in speeches and in writing he launched out with anti-Communist and anti-Soviet attacks and tried to turn the Belgian Young Socialist Guards from the path of unity with the Young Communist organizations.

But thanks to the powerful drive towards unity of the youth, Godefroy has been obliged to cease these attacks.

At the same time we cannot claim that everything is going well in Belgium. We notice that some comrades of the Young Socialist Guards still think and act in a manner contrary to the general line of development and the tasks of the youth mass movement. It is our duty to advise our comrades of the united Young Socialist and Young Communist organizations, in a friendly but very frank manner, not to persist in maintaining the purely political character of the United Young Socialist Guards, but, on the contrary, to set out consciously on the road which will lead to a great mass organization capable of rallying together all the anti-fascist youth.

We see from the examples of Spain, France, and Belgium that the path leading to the unity of the anti-fascist youth organizations is not the same in all these countries. And so it is important to avoid all kinds of mechanical imitation and cut and dried schemes; on the contrary, profiting by the experience of those countries where unity was first realized, each country must find its own particular path along which this movement will most favorably develop.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNITY OF YOUTH
ORGANIZATIONS IN ENGLAND, U.S.A.,
POLAND AND THE COUNTRIES OF
CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA

Can unity be established among the youth movements in England without the

aid of the big working class organizations—the Labor Party, the trade unions, the cooperatives? Can it be achieved if it is not linked up with the general struggle that our British Communist Party is waging for unity in the working class movement? Evidently not. This is also the opinion of our British friends.

In America, where there are vast perspectives for our activities, we have not yet solved the very difficult problem of collaboration and association among the anti-fascist youth organizations and other youth organizations which follow in the wake of the Democratic Party. Would there not be room in America for a great mass organization which would bring together millions of young people, like those who follow the Roosevelt program as well as those who are for the program of the Farmer-Labor Party, since all these organizations are anti-fascist and progressive in their outlook? Is it not possible to unite them so as to educate them and organize their activities? The Communist Party and Y.C.L. of the U.S.A. will have serious work to do to solve this problem.

In Poland, where the C.P. is illegal, some comrades have tried to imitate the forms of the united front as it exists in countries where the Party is legal! Our youth organizations should devote themselves to developing the legal anti-fascist and democratic youth organizations; they should work within these organizations to influence them in the spirit of unity.

In South and Central America we have some progress to report: in Mexico, Chile, and to a certain extent, in the Argentine. However, our youth organizations in these countries are developing this unity movement along lines which do not help us to win over the broad masses. The decisions for unity signed by the Young Communist and Young Socialist organizations in these countries are in effect very radical; there is a lot of talk about socialism for these countries and no mention of the central prob-

lem, the fight for the vital interests of the youth (among others the abolition of illiteracy) and the national struggle against imperialist oppression. If our comrades develop this unity movement by bringing concrete problems to the forefront, particularly those of the youth organizations, we shall have splendid perspectives in these countries also before very long.

The paths leading to the unity of the youth organizations vary, therefore, according to the different countries. At the same time, there is one question which must be settled at all costs, if the unity movement in every country is to be given a new impetus—that is, the question of putting an end to the split within the working class youth movement, the question of the relations between the Young Communist and the Young Socialist organizations.

DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE YOUNG COMMUNIST AND YOUNG SOCIALIST ORGANIZATIONS

Let us take a rapid survey of the relations which actually exist at the moment between the sections of the two Youth Internationals in the different countries, between the Young Communists and the Young Socialists.

Unity has been achieved in Spain; in Belgium a unity congress has been convened; in Latvia and Bulgaria unity has progressed considerably. The Students' Socialist International has also declared itself in favor of unity with the Communist students.

The united front has made indisputable progress in several countries, particularly in England, America and Switzerland. The unity movement can also register some success with regard to the organizations of Socialist and Communist emigrants from Italy and Germany. In Czechoslovakia, where collaboration between the Socialist and Communist youth organizations had encountered insurmountable obstacles until quite recently, these organizations were per-

sueded to take part together in the Geneva Peace Congress, and today they are working in defense of peace in the National Youth Committee.

Therefore, the idea of unity has made visible progress since our Sixth Congress.

Yet many difficulties still confront the youth of the working class before the divisions that exist among them can be abolished.

The Sixth Congress of the Y.C.I. had already pointed out that the Socialist Party, with the backing of a few members of the Young Socialist League, would put forward ever greater obstacles in the path of unity. This was confirmed in France. There are serious difficulties today in England and Belgium which deserve our full attention.

In England, the youth organization of the Labor Party has declared itself in favor of the united front with the Y.C.L. The unity movement is developing there. The last congress of the Labor Party adopted a memorandum on the relations between the youth organizations and the Labor Party. This memorandum in effect deprives these youth organizations of all independence; denies them the right to have their own responsible leaders, denies them the right to hold their own meetings, where the youth have a decisive voice, etc.

In Belgium certain leaders of the Belgian Labor Party have recently started an offensive against the unity movement. In several places the B.L.P. organizations have excluded groups of Young Socialists from membership of the People's Houses (more than ten cases have already been recorded). In brief, the leaders of the B.L.P. are trying to limit the independence of the Socialist youth and to smash its unity with the Young Communist organization.

What should our attitude be in the face of such attempts? The easiest answer would be: we shall simply not recognize, but reject the memorandum of the Labor Party! But this would only separate the youth movement from the great working class movement for unity,

in the vanguard of which the British C.P. is fighting. It is our opinion that a mass movement of English youth cannot be developed outside or against the great working class movement as a whole. We must, on the contrary, refuse to allow ourselves to be deterred by these difficulties, by this reactionary offensive, but unite with the whole mass working class movement and work for unity among the youth, with the support of those great English working class organizations which have already declared themselves in favor of unity. The same problem fundamentally confronts us in Belgium, but in a less acute manner than in England. To solve this problem properly, we must put an end to the sectarian attitude of hostility toward the B.L.P. which has been adopted by some leaders of the Belgian Young Socialists.

By his wrong attitude in this matter F. Godefroy, in the long run, plays into the hands of the reactionary elements. He says: before fighting against fascism we must fight against the corrupt elements in the B.L.P.; before setting Belgium in order, we must set the B.L.P. in order. But, since Rexism (Belgian fascism) directs its fire against the B.L.P. and the C.P., the attitude shown by Godefroy demoralizes and disarms the working class youth.

What we must do, on the contrary, is to show that our C.P., in proposing to reaffiliate to the B.L.P. as an independent organization, is working to strengthen the latter. We must explain to the workers in the B.L.P. that it is by waging a consistent struggle against fascism, against Rexism, that the B.L.P. will become a great proletarian force and set its own house and country in order.

It is by fighting against fascism, by concentrating all our blows against fascism, and not by attacking the B.L.P., that we shall obtain our objective and achieve unity for the struggle against fascism.

The second difficulty is the line of the leaders of the Young Socialist Interna-

tional. Let us examine the attitude of the leaders of the Y.S.I. on two important questions.

In the first place, its attitude to the Geneva Youth Congress. Twelve Socialist Leagues took part in this Congress, but the Young Socialist International did not take part in these sessions and even called for a boycott of them, declaring that the Congress could not achieve any results (facts have decidedly refuted this argument), and that it did not want to associate with Hitler and Mussolini youth organizations. The Hitler and Mussolini youth organizations did not send representatives to Geneva, but that is not the point. Even if the representatives of these youth organizations had come to the congress, we would have sat at the same table with them and tried to take advantage of their presence there to, spread ideas of peace and democracy in Germany and Italy. And if the Geneva movement had made the youth organizations of these countries advance one step forward, we should have been satisfied with the results.

If we had wanted to show no mercy to Ollenhauer, the Secretary of the Y.S.I., we could have told him that it is not we, at any rate, who are responsible for Hitler's coming to power in Germany, but that, on the contrary, we know the names of some leaders who bear a certain amount of responsibility in this matter. Therefore, we consider that collaboration with us to help to develop the ideas of peace and democracy in every country—including as far as possible Italy and Germany—and still more the idea of getting rid of fascism, is a very urgent task. We believe that if the Y.C.I. had been able to collaborate in Geneva with the Y.S.I. as a whole, and not only with some of its Socialist Leagues, the forces of democracy and peace would have been more strongly represented at the congress. And so we believe that the interests of the struggle for democracy and peace, the interests of the youth movement, demand the par-

ticipation of the Y.S.I. in all the great international movements.

Second, let us consider the attitude of the Y.S.I. toward the events in Spain.

Ollenhauer, the General Secretary of the Y.S.I., like myself, as the General Secretary of the Y.C.I., received a number of telegrams from Comrade Carillo, from the Young Socialist organizations in Belgium, from the students, calling on the two Internationals to establish the united front. Yet he remains unmoved. Fernand Godefroy wrote in his own name, and then again jointly with Carillo, to the leaders of the Y.S.I., simply asking them to mobilize the Young Socialist organizations of the world to come to the help of Spain, without putting forward the united front as a preliminary. So far Comrades Carillo and Godefroy have received no reply.

These facts show how great the resistance still is, what efforts we have yet to make in every country, with what perseverance we must work, ever seeking new means of developing the unity movement on an international and national scale, while at the same time supporting the growing Socialist youth movement with a view to changing the policy of the leaders of the Y.S.I.

We must also glance briefly at the situation in the Scandinavian countries. Many of our comrades still look upon the Social-Democratic youth organizations of Sweden or Denmark as reformist youth organizations devoted solely to education. We must get rid of this pernicious idea.

The youth organizations of Sweden and Denmark are democratic and anti-fascist youth organizations; they are against Hitler, against reaction in their own country, they are in sympathy with the Spanish revolution, they are trying to defend the economic and cultural interests of youth. And what right have we, whose task is to unite the democratic and anti-fascist youth of the whole world, to say that the youth organizations in Sweden and Denmark are Right

organizations, reformist and reactionary? Those who say this show that they fail to understand our tasks.

Our task is to achieve unity in the democratic and anti-fascist youth movements and to incorporate in this movement the great organizations of a democratic and anti-fascist kind, and, therefore, the youth organizations of Sweden and Denmark also have their place there.

Moreover, are those of us who reproach the Social-Democratic youth organizations of Sweden and Denmark with being concerned solely with education, etc., always right? Is that a fault? No, it is one of the good qualities of these organizations and not a fault. Our comrades in Sweden and Denmark, as well as in several other countries, should devote much greater attention to the problem of organizing recreation, problems of education, etc. Our comrades will come much closer in this way to the masses of the democratic youth movement, and will thus be able to create bases for unity with the Socialist youth organizations and help to guide all active and progressive elements to the logical anti-fascist struggle.

Finally, examples have proved, particularly in Spain and Belgium, that unity between the anti-fascist youth movement and the Socialist youth movements cannot be developed without waging a struggle against counter-revolutionary Trotskyism, a systematic, stubborn and patient struggle.

The sharper the class struggle becomes, the more Trotskyism reveals itself in its true role as the agent of international fascism.

For this reason it is a task of the greatest urgency to instruct the youth organizations on the counter-revolutionary role of Trotskyism, both from the aspect of the history of the working class movement and of present-day realities. We must explain it not only to the Young Communists, but also to the anti-fascist and democratic youth.

FOR COLLABORATION WITH RELIGIOUS
YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE
RIGHTS OF YOUTH

Is collaboration between the organized Young Communists and Youth Socialists and the religious youth organizations, especially the anti-fascist Catholic organizations, possible on a certain number of definite questions, as, for instance, the struggle for peace?

In England, in the U.S.A., collaboration has already been established between the anti-fascist youth movement and the Christian youth organizations and a number of other Catholic youth organizations. In France, Czechoslovakia and other countries we are now witnessing the beginnings of collaboration. In the young Catholic world we can see the desire developing for unity in defense of peace and the struggle for the rights of youth.

The heads of the Catholic church are opposing this tendency towards unity. Many documents could be quoted in evidence of this opposition to the movement.

By their anti-Communist crusade the heads of the church are seeking to conceal their betrayal of the very principles of Christianity. Did not the Pope and the higher clergy give their support to the Ethiopian war, a war against a whole nation, waged for the sake of the profit of big Catholic financiers?

They also want to hide their responsibility, their share in the assassinations in Spain, their collaboration with Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

By this crusade against democracy they want to cover up Hitler's crimes against the Catholic youth of Germany; they want to make people forget that Hitler has arrested the leaders of the Catholic youth associations on a charge of plotting against the state, when they were only defending the independence of their organizations. The heads of the church seek to hide the fact that it was Hitler who ordered the assassination

of Probst, the leader of the Catholic youth organizations, of Heinz Dasler, the former leader of sections of the Reichsbanner, as well as of Richard Hutting and Willi Rochow, two young Communists.

They want to turn the wrath which the Christian youth organizations of the whole world feel against Hitler away from this man who destroys all feelings of human brotherhood and crushes all freedom of conscience; they want to turn this wrath against the Communists, against democracy, against the Soviet Union.

The reactionary elements of the Catholic church are striving to force the Catholic masses to the side of fascism, to the side of big capital against democracy and against civilization.

It is our duty to explain all the problems which engage the attention of the Catholic masses with patience and conviction so as to denounce these lies and calumnies, and to form a basis of collaboration against the real enemy of their sentiments and aspirations.

We respect the religious beliefs of young Christians and young Catholics. The attitude of the Soviet Union toward religion is proof of this.

The Stalin Constitution adopted by the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of Soviets states:

"The church in the U.S.S.R. is separated from the state and from the church. Freedom to practice religious rites and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is granted to all citizens."

The leaders and certain organizations of the Christian youth movement accuse us of being supporters of principles of violence; they reproach us also with denying all morality.

We are struggling for a society in which the exploitation of man by man will be ended, in which oppression and violence will be abolished. But when a people tries, even by legal methods, even within the framework of bourgeois democracy, to free itself from forces which impede its economic, political, and cul-

tural development, when it tries to ensure the independence of its country, it finds itself in conflict with the forces of reaction which impose violence on it. This is what is happening in Spain today.

When the forces which hinder the development of mankind resort to violence then the masses of the people must answer violence with violence, if they do not wish to perish. And we Communists, and young Communists, are on the side of the forces of progress in their struggle against violence of reaction.

Can we remain neutral to war, when the Italian troops are in Ethiopia or the Japanese in China; can we remain impassive when in Spain Franco, with Hitler and Mussolini, is slaughtering the population and trying to destroy the independence of the country? Can we remain indifferent in face of the violence of the fascists when they exterminate the whole population of Badajoz, shoot hundreds of people in Rio Tinto and massacre women and children in Madrid? Can we remain neutral when the fascists, pushing their cruelty to the limits of sadism, carve up the body of a Republican pilot and drop it down in a parachute on the streets of Madrid?

The Spanish people have not only the right to meet the unleashed violence of the fascists and reactionaries with equal violence, it is their direct duty to do so, for their life is at stake.

In connection with the international offensive of fascism and the experience of Spain the words of Comrade Dimitroff are particularly to the point. He said:

"They [the fascists] have come up against the armed People's Front. The Spanish people today are showing by their heroic fight how democracy must be defended against fascism."

Comrade Dimitroff, generalizing on the events in Spain, declares:

"The time has come to defend democracy against the fascist attack by every means, including armed force."

We are also told that we do not recognize the value of man. And yet the

Soviet Union is the only country where the principle holds good, as Comrade Stalin said, that "of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people".

Those who accuse us of "denying morality" should study the words of Comrade Stalin in his interview with the German author Emil Ludwig, words which cannot be read without a feeling of deep emotion:

"If in my efforts to elevate the working class and strengthen the socialist state of that class, every step taken were not directed towards strengthening and improving the position of the working class, I should consider my life as purposeless."

In his speech in the Kremlin on May 2, 1935, at the meeting with the Red Army men who took part in the May Day parade, Comrade Stalin said:

"As for us, the members of the C.C., the members of the government, we have no other life but to live for our great work, to struggle for the general well being of the people, for the happiness of all the toilers, for the countless masses. . . ."

This is *our* morality, the morality which we learn from our teachers, the morality to which the young Communist organizations adhere and which they wish to spread throughout the whole world.

It is not enough to reply to all the questions raised by the young Catholic and young Christian organizations: we respect your religious beliefs and we want unity with you. No, it is necessary to go deeply into the many complicated questions raised by the Christian world and to give an exhaustive reply in each individual case.

We want to strengthen the collaboration already begun with the young Christian organizations, to smash the counter-offensive of the reactionary circles of the Catholic church, and achieve unity on the basis of the essential de-

mands and requirements of the youth; and so, taking into account the concrete situation in each country, we must work out with great care the line of conduct and the arguments to be used with regard to the great Christian and Catholic organizations.

An end must be put immediately to sectarian tendencies, to a contemptuous attitude toward the Catholic youth wherever these tendencies still exist.

FOR CADRES ARMED WITH THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY

The task of all our Leagues is to work in the ranks of the young Communist, the Socialist and anti-fascist youth organizations so as to abolish sectarianism, rid our organizations of all contempt toward the religious youth, free our organizations of Left phrasemongers, arm the youth against fascism, expose the counter-revolutionary role of Trotskyism, the agency of fascism, and train the youth in the spirit of the teachings of Marx and Lenin. The cadres of the Communist, anti-fascist youth organizations must be equipped with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory so as to solve all the problems which engage the minds of young people.

These are the cadres we must train today, cadres devoted to the cause of the anti-fascist struggle, cadres which regard it as their task to train the youth for the struggle in defense of democ-

racy by every available means, including armed force.

We must also overcome the tendencies to boycott military training for the youth, to boycott the army, which tendencies are still to be found in the ranks of the anti-fascist and democratic youth organizations.

We must use every opportunity to get the mass of the anti-fascist youth to study military science in the schools, in order that the historic inevitability of defending democracy by every method without exception does not become a mere phrase.

These are the problems before us. Great difficulties stand in our path, but we have the strength to overcome them. We have the strength because we have teachers like Stalin, because we are being trained in the ranks of the Communist International, under the leadership of our Comrade Dimitroff. We have the strength, because tens of millions of young anti-fascists and democrats are rising up to take part in the struggle all over the world. We have the strength because in the ranks of youth the idea of fighting for peace and freedom, the idea of united action is growing.

We have strength because we have already gained some experience of our own. By studying our experiences in a critical spirit we are convinced that we shall be able to overcome all difficulties. We are certain of victory!

The Convention of the American Federation of Labor

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

WHEN the Fifty-sixth Convention of the A. F. of L. assembled in Tampa, Florida, on November 16,* it faced a splendid opportunity to further the interests of labor on every front. The workers were flushed with the victory that had been scored over the Hearst-Landon reaction in the elections, industry was rapidly on the pickup and big campaigns to organize the unorganized workers were on foot in the steel and automobile industries. All factors were present for a wave of successful struggle by the workers.

But the reactionary leaders who dominate the A. F. of L. Executive Council—Green, Woll, Frey, etc.—wanted none of this. Instead of carrying out the obviously necessary task of mobilizing the forces of the working class to press forward in the present favorable situation, they spent their main efforts to drive out of the A. F. of L. its big progressive wing. The principal thing done by the convention was to confirm the recent suspension of ten unions, with over 1,000,000 members, which go to make up the Committee for Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis of the miners. Thus, the convention suspended approximately one-third of the total membership of the A. F. of L.

It will be recalled that for the past three years a group of unions, mostly those of industrial or semi-industrial form and of a progressive tendency, have been demanding that the A. F. of L. begin an energetic organization of the millions of unorganized workers in the mass production industries. They also insisted that, in order to do this, the A. F. of L. should establish the industrial form of union in these industries. The A. F. of L. Executive Council, dominated by craft unionists, refused to do this, however, and a dozen of its affiliated unions (miners, textile, needle, printers, etc.), formed themselves into the Committee for Industrial Organization several months ago. Under the leadership of John L. Lewis, the C.I.O. unions began to do organization work themselves in steel, automobile, rubber, and other industries, on the basis of the existing unions transforming themselves into industrial organizations. They have since been joined by two important independent unions in the radio and ship-building industries.

For this action in forming the C.I.O. and beginning organization work, the C.I.O. was condemned by the A. F. of L. Executive Council as a dual union movement, as insurrectional, as opening the door to Communists, and was then suspended from the Federation by the Executive Council. This mass suspension was

* This article was written immediately following the 56th Convention of the A. F. of L.—Ed.

in flagrant violation of the A. F. of L. constitution and grossly against the manifest will of the great majority of members in the trade union movement as a whole.

The Tampa convention confirmed this illegal suspension by a vote of approximately 21,000 to 2,000. The Executive Council could only secure this majority voting for a split, because, in the first place, the ten suspended C.I.O. unions, with over 1,000,000 members, were not allowed to vote in the convention, and second, because the top bureaucrats who make up the great bulk of the A. F. of L. convention representatives completely ignored the wishes of the workers in their own trade unions who, in overwhelming majority, are against the splitting policy of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

That the bulk of the organized workers are against the split was shown in the few months prior to the Tampa convention; many local unions, state federations, and national unions, comprising more than half of the whole labor movement, voted against the C.I.O. suspension. But Green and Co. paid no attention to their expressed will. In deadly fear that the organization of the unorganized masses would upset their old craft union system and put an end to their own reactionary control, these bureaucrats proceeded, nevertheless, to suspend the ten C.I.O. unions, and to warn two others of impending suspension. Then, hypocritically enough, they urged the C.I.O. unions to return to the fold of organized labor (that is, by surrendering and by giving up their organization campaigns and industrial union principles), and they named a committee to negotiate with the C.I.O. leaders. Naturally, every reactionary force in the United States applauded Green and Co. in their disruptive work.

The Tampa convention, besides deepening the criminal split started by the Executive Council's suspension of the C.I.O. unions, also took a number of other reactionary steps. Shamelessly, the

bureaucratic leaders refused to permit representatives of the Spanish government to speak to the convention. They denounced the present big rank-and-file strike of marine workers on the Atlantic Coast as illegal. They also restricted the rights of the city central labor councils and federal unions (local unions that have no national unions), as these organizations, much more responsive to rank-and-file control and progressive movements than are the centralized national unions, have long been a thorn in the side of the Executive Council. The Executive Council even raised the anti-Semitic issue in its fight against the C.I.O. The convention further refused to support the Farmer-Labor Party, or to take a definite stand to restrict the power of the Supreme Court. It also rejected affiliation to the Amsterdam International, refused to condemn the fascist newspaper publisher, Hearst; rejected proposals demanding the release of the Scottsboro boys, etc., etc.

As against these reactionary measures, the convention passed a few resolutions of a progressive character, for the 30-hour week, the organization of the unorganized, the organization of youth in industry, the amendment of the Social Security Act, against the Tampa terrorism exercised against Comrade Browder in the election campaign, for the release of Tom Mooney, and J. B. McNamara, etc. But these resolutions were principally platonic in character, and, with no force behind them, are of little real significance. Altogether, the Tampa convention was one of the most reactionary in the whole life of the American labor movement. It in no sense corresponded to the will or mood of the workers who are now more progressive-minded and more militant than ever before in their history. It was a convention expressing the fears of the reactionary trade union bureaucracy which is on the defensive in the face of a rapidly rising wave of radicalism and struggle among the broad masses of the working class for their unity.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE C.I.O.

The ten unions, members of the Committee for Industrial Organization, that had previously been suspended by the Executive Council, were not represented at the Tampa convention. Two unions, the cap makers and the printers, which, although actively cooperating with the C.I.O., were not suspended because they were technically not affiliated to the C.I.O., sent their delegates to the Tampa convention and they led the fight there for the C.I.O. They were supported in the convention vote by ten small national unions, mostly of an industrial and semi-industrial union character, ten state federations, ten city central bodies, and thirty federal local unions.

Since the end of the convention, the C.I.O. has not stated definitely what it proposes to do with regard to re-establishing trade union unity. Two of its unions (cap makers and ladies' garment workers) are outspoken for peace with the Executive Council, and are evidently prepared to make pretty heavy concessions to this end. Whether or not any negotiations will develop between the A. F. of L. negotiating committee and the C.I.O. leaders, regarding rescinding the suspension of the C.I.O. unions, remains to be seen. There has been much general talk about the formation of a new trade union federation with the C.I.O. as the basis. But the C.I.O. itself, and John L. Lewis, its leader, are non-committal on this question.

With regard to the problem of re-establishing trade union unity, the C.I.O. is evidently marking time. But meanwhile, it is pressing forward energetically with its campaigns in the steel, automobile, rubber and other mass production industries. Good progress is being made in this work, especially in steel. It is claimed that now (December 15) over 100,000 of the 500,000 steel workers have been registered in the C.I.O. industrial union, the Amalgamated Iron, Tin and Steel Workers, which is one of the oldest trade unions in the

American labor movement. The C.I.O. has set the middle of February as the date when the majority of the steel workers must be organized, so that it may present the workers' demands to the steel corporations; and its big corps of 175 or more paid organizers are being pushed to accomplish this task.

The situation is generally favorable for the C.I.O., in spite of the ruthless splitting tactics of the A. F. of L. Executive Council. The C.I.O. represents the present militant mass trends of the workers. The fourteen C.I.O. unions, with the 500,000 miners as their backbone, are themselves in a strong position. The huge masses of unorganized workers are in an active mood, ready to organize and highly sympathetic to the C.I.O.'s program. Also the C.I.O. has the support of huge numbers of members of the craft unions whose misleaders are controlling the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Although the official figures show about 2,250,000 workers following the Executive Council and 1,250,000 following the C.I.O., in reality, counting the sympathetic members in the craft unions, a large majority of the trade unionists of the United States are supporters of Lewis' program. In addition, the C.I.O. leaders are closer to Roosevelt than are the leaders of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, and undoubtedly have the greater influence with him. The success of the C.I.O.'s major organization campaigns, which may well be realized, would put the C.I.O. definitely in a dominant position in the American labor movement and would enable it to shape the course to achieve trade union unity and to formulate labor policy generally.

THE POSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

From the beginning the C.P.U.S.A. has supported the C.I.O. movement, with a certain amount of criticism. The C.P. especially urged the C.I.O. to come out more definitely for a Farmer-Labor

Party, to take more energetic steps to mobilize its sympathizers in the craft unions, and to press forward more actively with the organization work. The C.P. has been giving the C.I.O. its energetic support in the struggle against the reactionary section of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and also in the prosecution of its several campaigns to organize the unorganized in the steel, auto, and other mass production industries.

At the time of the suspension of the C.I.O. unions by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., a couple of months before the Tampa convention, the Communist Party played the most active role of any organization in mobilizing the members of the trade union movement against the splitting policy of the A. F. of L. leadership. More than half the whole labor movement went on record against the Executive Council's policy. The Party called upon the workers in the lower ranks of the trade unions to maintain their lines united, in spite of the attempt of the bureaucrats at the top to split the labor movement. It is significant that when the Tampa convention later confirmed the suspension of the C.I.O. unions it did not undertake to unseat the delegates from the various city central labor councils and the State Federations of Labor. The Executive Council was evidently afraid that if it issued such an order the rank and file would refuse to carry it out. Thus, we have the peculiar situation of the labor movement being split wide open at the top and yet united at the bottom in the very important city and state A. F. of L. bodies.

Immediately following the Tampa convention, the C.P. issued a trade union unity statement with the slogan "Prevent the A. F. of L. split from spreading; reunite the trade union movement!" This statement, after placing full responsibility for the split upon the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., called upon the workers to maintain their unity in the bottom ranks of the labor movement.

To prevent the split from spreading the Party proposed three principal measures:

1. That, pending the re-establishment of unity with the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. should retain its present form as a committee to carry on organization work in the mass production industries.

2. That there should be no unseating of C.I.O. delegates in the city central bodies and state federations of labor.

3. That there should be no splitting off of local unions or minority groups of national unions affiliated to the C.I.O. or the A. F. of L., and that wherever the question of national affiliation to either body arises, the principle of majority rule should prevail.

In addition to these emergency measures to prevent the split from spreading, the C.P. statement proposed a whole series of other measures for reuniting the trade union movement, including a wide campaign in the A. F. of L. unions to condemn the action of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and to support the program of the C.I.O.; a demand for a continuation of unity negotiations; a demand that the whole question of industrial unionism be submitted to a general referendum vote of all the unions; intensification of the organization campaigns in the steel, auto, rubber, needle and other industries, whose success the Party considers the key to the whole situation; a systematic mobilization of A. F. of L. local craft unions to support the C.I.O. organizing drive, and to initiate organization work in their own spheres; an agreement between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., allowing the C.I.O. to organize the steel workers and the A. F. of L. metal trades to organize the other heavy metal industries; the raising of the question of industrial unionism in the A. F. of L. and railroad unions in those forms constituting the next most practical steps toward industrial solidarity in the given industries; the launching of a campaign for the elimination of gangsters and racketeers from the unions, and the development of

a new leadership and policy in the A. F. of L. unions; efforts to establish the political unity of the various sections of the labor movement by linking together and setting up a working cooperation between the A. F. of L. and railroad brotherhood legislative committees: Labor's Non-Partisan League (C.I.O.), farmers' organizations, state Farmer-Labor Parties, the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, etc., in support of labor's legislative demands and in the building of local and state Farmer-Labor Parties. The Party put out the slogan: to "defeat the Executive Council splitters—for a united A. F. of L.—for industrial unionism".

A PERSPECTIVE OF STRUGGLE

Despite the splitting tactics of the leaders of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, the working class in the United States is rapidly developing a new wave of mass struggle. The next period will probably be one of the most important in this respect in the whole history of the American labor movement. The employers, in attempts to forestall the developing struggle, are giving many "voluntary" wage increases and Christmas bonuses to the workers, and they are making many overtures for the co-operation of the Roosevelt government which they opposed so bitterly in the recent elections.

The mass struggle is developing on many fronts. As we have remarked, successful organization campaigns by the C.I.O. are being carried on in steel, automobile, rubber, glass, etc. This has given a great stimulation to trade union organization in industry generally, and the work of organization is especially beginning to get under way in such industries as needle, textile, shoe, etc.

Also, a wave of strikes is growing in various industries. For two months the Left A. F. of L. marine workers on the Pacific, Atlantic and Gulf Coasts have been waging a fierce struggle against their employers. The national glass in-

dustry is now tied up with the strike of the C.I.O. union. The automobile and rubber industries are experiencing a wave of sit-down and stay-in strikes, with the prospect of very big movements in the near future. Strikes are also taking place in other industries.

The C.I.O. leaders plan that the majority of the steel workers shall be organized in the union by the middle of February, a not difficult task in view of the splendid opportunity for organization work at the present time. Then the steel workers will present their demands to the Iron and Steel Institute, the national center of the great steel corporations. This will probably provoke a serious struggle and the C.I.O. leaders are talking about linking up the struggle of the 500,000 steel workers with that of the 500,000 coal miners, whose national agreement will expire on March 31, 1937. It needs no great imagination to foresee the tremendous struggle that will develop should the combined steel workers and coal miners go on strike together—which, at the present writing, seems a distinct possibility. This would awaken the whole country.

The mass struggle is also developing around labor's legislative demands. In the election campaign Roosevelt made many promises to the workers, of shorter hours, higher wages, better living conditions, etc. Since the elections Roosevelt has turned distinctly to the Right, with wholesale cuts in unemployment relief and by other friendly gestures to the great capitalists. But the workers are of a mind to insist on their legislative demands, and never in the history of America was there so much independent political activity by the masses in the shaping of such demands and taking steps to press them upon city, state and national governments.

In the center of all this economic and political activity can be felt the influence of the C.I.O., with John L. Lewis at its head. The A. F. of L. leadership, where it is not passive, is playing an obstructive role. Every progressive and

revolutionary element in the American labor movement is giving more or less active support to the broad struggles either initiated or supported by the C.I.O.

All these struggle developments, which I have barely touched on here, promise to have a profound effect upon the organization and outlook of the working class. The success of the big organization campaigns now under way in steel, auto, rubber, etc., would smash the open-shop efforts of the finance capitalists, and would destroy the effectiveness of their company unionism. It would also radically transform the old A. F. of L. system of craft unionism by definitely establishing the industrial union principle. It would likewise probably lead to a huge organization campaign in many industries. Other effects would probably be to so strengthen the progressive elements in the trade union movement as a whole that they would be able to re-establish trade union unity in spite of the splitting efforts of the A. F. of L. top leadership. And through it all can be seen the

gradual development of broad movements which are slowly laying the foundation for a national Farmer-Labor Party.

The success of the economic and political struggle that American labor is now evidently going into would greatly strengthen the democratic forces of America and put a strong brake upon the development of reaction and fascism in this country. And it goes without saying that such a development in the United States could not fail to have international repercussions by strengthening the fight of all revolutionary and democratic forces of the world, in defense of democracy and against the menace of fascism and war. Needless to add, the Communist Party of the U.S.A. will throw all its forces into this sharpening struggle, in order that these mass movements may turn out to be the biggest victory ever won by the American working class, the biggest step toward its unity. And so that, in the making of this victory, the Communist Party can take still further strides toward building itself into a mass party.

Dimitroff's Great Victory

BY WILHELM PIECK

IT WAS three years ago on the 16th of December that Comrade Georgi Dimitroff made his "closing speech" in the so-called Burning of the Reichstag Trial as the accused before the German High Court of Justice, which turned into a tremendous accusation against Hitler fascism. This speech showed the whole world the complete superiority of communism over fascism. The Bolshevik behavior of Comrade Dimitroff during the whole trial was a powerful call to the masses of working people throughout the world, calling them to form the united and People's Front against Hitler fascism, to form a front against his crimes and to lead to his overthrow.

The remembrance of the burning of the Reichstag by Hitler fascism, with which he introduced his bloody offensive against the German people, is particularly in place today when Hitler fascism is undertaking an even greater crime in his military intervention in Spain. Comrade Molotov was only too right in his statement at the Extraordinary Eighth Soviet Congress: "The German fascists have truly deserved the Herostratus fame of modern cannibals."

Hitler fascism, after countless murders and executions, torturing men to death, beating them till crippled for life, in Germany, has now passed on to sending German troops to Spain, so as to continue his murderous work there, to rob the Spanish people of their freedom and to prepare for them the fate of the German people.

At that time Hitler fascism undertook its bloody crimes with the excuse that it must save Germany from Bolshevism, and to give battle in the Leipzig Trial to international Communism. Today he is embarking on his greater crime of military intervention in Spain, with which, under the pretense of saving Europe from world Bolshevism, he wants to let loose a world war. His earlier slogan, "Germany awake", with which the Nazi band of murderers in Germany carried through their pogroms and crimes, has been turned by Hitler, Goebbels and Goering into the slogan "Europe awake" in order to set fire to the world. But the masses of working people are preparing a defeat for this crime of Hitler fascism such as the world has never yet seen.

The greatness of Comrade Dimitroff's deed can only be fully understood now, when it is realized what an apparatus the Hitler government put to work in order to force through their plan "to destroy world communism" at the trial in Leipzig. The whole fascist press, all the bourgeois telegraphic agencies, all the bourgeois newspapers and correspondents abroad whom they had bribed were busy for weeks before the trial and during the trial with spreading the most infamous lies about the alleged plans of the Communists for an uprising, and the part taken by Dimitroff in these plans. Forged statements and confessions of the accused were spread abroad, false witnesses were bought and coached. General Goering saw to it that sensational news was spread about alleged discov-

eries of secret documents, arms, poisons, dynamite and similar things in Karl Liebknecht House in Berlin, where the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany was at that time. He knew it was a lie. Never were any discoveries of the kind made. The whole apparatus of the state was called on for this trial. The Hitler government was absolutely certain of its success, of winning world public opinion for the death sentence it planned on Comrade Dimitroff.

What was the position of Comrade Dimitroff as accused? On the 9th of March, ten days after the fascists had set fire to the Reichstag, Dimitroff was arrested. During the six and a half months imprisonment up to the beginning of the trial on September 21, he was completely cut off from the outer world, completely isolated, robbed of every legal possibility, manacled and forced to endure the worst physical and mental tortures. The fascists thought to curb his spirit, to be able to catch him by surprise with their "proofs". In addition there was the fact that Torgler, who was in the dock along with Dimitroff, by his attitude made it very much easier to carry through the plan for the trial. Torgler not only took a notorious fascist as his counsel, but also, openly before the court, dissociated himself from Dimitroff's Bolshevik behavior. The two Bulgarian Communists throughout the trial concentrated only on their personal defense.

But what did Georgi Dimitroff do at this trial? The fascist court grew more and more enraged at the behavior of Comrade Dimitroff the longer the trial dragged on, which only finished on December 23. It was a hard three-month battle by Comrade Dimitroff against the power of the court, of the state apparatus, against the Public Prosecutor and the perjured witnesses he brought forward, and finally also against the leaders of the Hitler government, Goering and Goebbels, brought in to save the plan which was bound up with this trial.

From the first day of the trial when he stood before the public of the world, Georgi Dimitroff maintained the quiet, thoughtful attitude of a Bolshevik fighter, did not allow himself to be provoked, but with iron consistency steered toward the exposure of fascism as the burner of the Reichstag, and used every opportunity to represent the cause of Communism before the world. Dimitroff showed himself to be a loyal pupil of Lenin and understood how to make use successfully and skillfully of the teachings of Lenin to the revolutionaries on their behavior before bourgeois courts, which he gave in a letter in 1905 to comrades who had been arrested:

"It is best, at once, before the arguments on the serious questions of the President, to declare one is Social-Democrat [today, of course, Communist—W.P.] and then bring out in the speech what this means."

Lenin, in his letter, recommended that under conditions similar to those in Leipzig, the accused revolutionaries should make propaganda for their ideas and take part actively in the proceedings of the court:

"Why shouldn't one take part in order to trip up the witnesses and to be able to agitate against the court? Of course, great care must be taken in order not to fall into a tone of unsuitable justification. For this every word must be considered. . . . If, on the other hand, the facts are vague, if the witnesses of the secret police are contradictory, then it is hardly suitable to deprive oneself of the agitational material for the exposure of the law."

Georgi Dimitroff, with his Bolshevik fight in the trial, gave the finest example of the use of this teaching of Lenin. He knew that by this fight he drew all the hatred of the fascists on himself, that they would all the more feverishly try to force the court to pronounce his death sentence.

The court was a puppet in the hands of the fascist rulers. General Goering in

his "testimony" shot the bolt of his wrath over the defeat of fascism at the trial which could no longer be disguised. Gnashing his teeth, he swore at the "accused" Dimitroff, and threatened him with murder when he was let free by the court. He roared: "What's your idea, you rogue? Just wait until we have got you outside the authority of this court."

But Dimitroff did not allow himself to be sidetracked. With his question: "You are afraid of my questions, Mr. Minister President?" and with his remark: "I am very satisfied with the statement of Mr. Minister President" he was completely master of the situation.

The Bolshevik attitude of Dimitroff has also been adopted in fascist prisons by thousands of imprisoned anti-fascists, and also helped to give them courage and force in their trials for the fight against the indictment and for the presentation of their political opinions. The great example, the steadfast behavior of our worker revolutionaries, August Luettgens, Fiete Schulze, Edgar Andre, Rudolf Claus and many others before the court and even on the gallows, were inspired by the great deed of Comrade Dimitroff.

But Georgi Dimitroff won great authority for the Communist movement—which affected even bourgeois circles abroad. In the bourgeois press his behavior in court aroused open wonder and admiration. To give only a few examples:

"The Presiding Judge has made Dimitroff the Danton of the Reichstag trial, to the tremendous spirit which—I can add this here—has more honor in Germany than one might think." (*De Telegraf, Amsterdam.*)

"In the words which he threw in the face of the court: 'I am here not as debtor but as creditor' there was something of the greatness of an historic moment." (*New York Times.*)

"Natural dignity seems inborn in the Bulgarian." (*Times, London.*)

"Dimitroff is a man of brilliant intelligence and ability who has turned the dock into a dock for the accusers. Dimitroff accuses the Nazi government and the law, and the foreign press reporters look on him with complete sympathy." (*Gazeta Warszawska, Warsaw.*)

When, at the end of the trial, the Supreme Court, realizing the defeat of fascism, had to let Comrade Dimitroff and the three other accused go free, this is first and foremost the great service of Comrade Dimitroff. His attitude not only had the result of interesting world public opinion in the course of the trial, but it also involved the further developments which were to result from the trial. By his exposure of the provocation by Hitler fascism by means of the fire, it made it impossible for the fascist court to pronounce a death sentence or any other sentence. It is true irony that the court condemned van der Lubbe to death, their tool bought to set the fire alight. By that fascism, which carried out the sentence, condemned itself.

But with the end of the trial the fight was not over. In spite of the verdict of release of Comrade Dimitroff and the three other accused, they were still held in prison as before by the fascist rulers. The revenge announced by Goering threatened Dimitroff because of his Bolshevik behavior in court, his courageous propaganda of the cause of Communism.

Throughout the world a further, renewed movement of protest was needed (filled with the unexampled, bold attitude of Dimitroff before the court) in order to force the Hitler government, on February 27, 1934, to release Comrade Dimitroff and the two other Bulgarian comrades, who had meanwhile received Soviet citizenship from the government of the Soviet Union, so that they could travel to the Soviet Union.

Comrade Dimitroff himself has declared:

"We were released because the wave of indignation about the shameful deeds

of German fascism rose so high throughout the world, and fascism in Leipzig had damaged itself so much that they could do nothing else than deport us."

The significant result of the brave deed of Comrade Dimitroff was that it became the signal to the working people throughout the world to come together in the fight against Hitler fascism, and against fascism in general, to form the united and People's Front in the fight against all reactionary powers for the maintenance of peace.

Never before in the world was such a tremendous international campaign carried on with this result, as was the campaign for the release of Comrade Dimitroff from the clutches of German fascism. Never before have the working people in the whole world so learned to know their power when they are united as they did when they tore Comrade Dimitroff out of the hands of bloodthirsty Hitler fascism. This campaign became the beginning of the movement for the formation of unity of action for which Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International gave the great slogan of the creation of the united front in the working class and the People's Front of the masses of the working people against war and fascism.

Here lies above all the great historic importance of the victory of Comrade Dimitroff in the Leipzig Trial. This trial was thought out by Hitler fascism as a justification of its terrible bloody terror, of its murder of so many anti-fascist fighters. They wanted to "prove" by this trial that they had saved the world from the Communist uprising. The bold Bolshevik attitude of Comrade Dimitroff not only utterly defeated this plan, not only exposed the bloodthirsty criminal plan of Hitler fascism, but also showed the masses of the people the path of victorious struggle against fascism.

Comrade Manuilsky, in an article on the first anniversary of the collapse of

fascist provocation in the Leipzig Trial, aptly expressed this in the following words:

"German fascism, by burning the Reichstag, wanted to compromise Communism and to isolate the masses of the workers from its influence. But in reality it managed to compromise itself and contribute to the formation around the Leipzig Trial of that united front of the world proletariat which in the end turned away the fascist axe raised over the heads of the Leipzig prisoners. The Leipzig trial gave the impulse to the movement of the international working class for unity in struggle, which made it possible for the Communist International to develop the successful application of the tactic of the united front."

The progress of the idea of the People's Front and its realization in France and Spain started with this great deed of Comrade Dimitroff and with the first great movement for unity of action of the working people introduced by it. It is easy to understand that the Hitler government regrets the release of Comrade Dimitroff, as Ribbentrop, the fascist foreign agent, expressed in a letter to Lord Allen of Huttwood in February of this year. He says that the release is to be ascribed to the "excessive generosity of fascism" which will never be practiced again. By this he is aiming at the worldwide demand for the release of Comrade Ernst Thaelmann.

Comrade Dimitroff, with his great victory in Leipzig, with the defeat which he dealt fascism in the trial, also defeated the plan of Hitler fascism against Comrade Ernst Thaelmann. The fascists made the same attempts as they had made with Comrade Dimitroff, by forgeries, bought witnesses, lies and an infamous campaign to persuade world public opinion that Comrade Thaelmann is a dangerous criminal, who has 400 murders on his conscience and who is the organizer of the uprising prevented by the fascists, and many other such things. Although Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, who is one of the most popular leaders of

the German proletariat, has been sitting in prison since the beginning of March, 1933, Hitler fascism has steadily postponed the trial. It is now made known that they are not going to carry through the trial and Thaelmann has been transferred from prison to protective arrest.

The life of Ernst Thaelmann is in constant danger, because of the sharpening of the situation in Germany, the growing indignation against the fascist regime, the ever growing opposition within the ranks of fascism itself and the undiminishing effects of the military intervention of Hitler fascism in Spain. The fascists know the great significance Ernst Thaelmann has for the German proletariat. His imprisonment is a deliberate blow at the masses of the working people in Germany, for whose rights and freedom, for the improvement of whose standard of living, he fought.

Comrade Dimitroff, immediately after his release, made his first appeal to the whole world for the release of Ernst Thaelmann, which he declared to be a matter of honor of the international proletariat and as the duty of every honest thinking man in the world. He gave the masses a characterization of Ernst Thaelmann with these words:

"The life of Ernst Thaelmann shows that the true revolutionary, the real proletarian leader only arises on the basis of deep going absorption of Marxism-Leninism, only in the fire of the class-struggle.

"It is not enough to know theory—one must be steeled to Bolshevik steadfastness as a revolutionary. It is not enough to know what must be done for the victory of Communism—one must have the courage to carry it through.

"One must ever be ready, at the price of any sacrifice, to do what serves the interests of the working class. One must be able to subordinate one's whole life to the interests of the working class."

These words of Dimitroff and the recollection of his Bolshevik fight in Leipzig and his enforced release should spur the masses of the working people to fight

for the release of Ernst Thaelmann and to force it through.

Hitler fascism, with the burning of the Reichstag and the murderous terror which it introduced against the Communists and all anti-fascists, aimed at destroying the Communist Party and at "rooting out Communism". It dealt a very severe blow to the Communist Party, and also to the Social-Democratic and Catholic movements. But it was not able to suppress the Communist movement and the work of the Communist Party. The nervous, feverish campaign which Hitler and Co. developed against the Communists, or as they have recently taken to call it, against "world Bolshevism", proves that the Communist Party is working effectively in the country and the Communist movement in Germany, as throughout the world, is gaining strength.

The growing difficulties of the economic policy of Hitler fascism in Germany, the growing indignation against the fascist regime, the blind alley into which fascism is running with its war economy, drive Hitler fascism toward aggression, toward starting a war from which it hopes, by warlike conquests, to find a way out of the home difficulties. The speeches of Hitler at this year's Nuremberg Congress were based on the plan of starting a war of adventure. He tried to deceive the masses by his talk about his apparent readiness for peace.

The aggressiveness with which Hitler campaigned against democracy at the party congress shows clearly the purpose of his plans. The West European countries, like France, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and the Baltic border states are the ones which are threatened by him in the first place. But the great Soviet Union as well, particularly the Soviet Ukraine, is the aim of his imperialist plans. The military pact which Germany has concluded with Japan under the cover of a pact against Bolshevism is to make easier the fulfilment of these robber plans.

The military intervention of Hitler fascism in alliance with Italian fascism against the Spanish people shows clearly the swindle of his alleged readiness for peace. The Hitler government is quite clear that military intervention is an open act of war, which it undertook speculating on the aloofness of France and England. German soldiers are being sacrificed in Spain to the imperialist robber plans of Hitler fascism which are concerned with Spain and its colonies as well as with positions in the Mediterranean. The Spanish people are to be drowned in blood in accordance with the openly proclaimed plans.

International solidarity, which has so often developed such tremendous force, as was particularly the case in the release of Comrade Dimitroff, is also helping the Spanish people. Throughout the world the masses of the working people, as Comrade Stalin stated, feel that the fight in Spain is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but the affair of the whole of advanced, progressive mankind. International solidarity, which has found its expression in the formation of the International Brigade and in other support, helps the Spanish people to prepare an end for the criminal deeds of German and Italian fascism in Spain. The Spanish and the German peoples have now to bear the sacrifice which is being called forth by this adventure of Hitler fascism in Spain. But from this the forces will arise which will make it possible to defeat Hitler fascism not only in Spain but also in Germany. This fight will also have the same effect on the Italian people, against Italian fascism.

The formation of the united and the People's Front, this great slogan of Comrade Dimitroff, is continually developing the forces necessary to defeat fascism. Communists, Social-Democrats, Catholics, Democrats, Republicans, all those oppressed by fascism, who are robbed of their rights, whose material situation is constantly worsened, who are to be forced into war—they are beginning to understand that only by the formation of unity of action in the fight for democracy, peace and well-being can fascism be defeated. The world of all the friends of peace, all democrats must stand opposed to its criminal war.

The country of socialism, the Soviet Union, under the wise leadership of our great Stalin, by its peace policy, by its great example of the construction of a socialist economy, by the constant rise in the well-being and the cultural level of the masses, by the national freedom of its peoples, pronounced in the recently adopted new Stalin Constitution, by its socialist democracy, the guaranteed right to work, education, rest and care for old age, is showing the working people in the capitalist countries the path to complete emancipation from slavery, exploitation and the abolition of the constant danger of war of the capitalist countries.

Hitler fascism shows its real face of hostility to the masses of the people by its hatred, its lies which it uses against the Soviet Union in the hope that thereby it will win the masses of the working people for its war crimes, and keep them back from unity in the fight for the destruction of fascism, from the fight for freedom, peace and well-being.

Fallen in Battle

EVERY day of struggle brings with it fresh sacrifices. Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and those who belong to no party, workers, peasants and intellectuals, who have taken up arms for the first time, young people straight from school and elderly fathers of families, women and girls are fighting and dying side by side. Ever new reinforcements arrive to take the place of those killed; the fate of their perished comrades does not frighten them. Anti-fascist working people from Germany, Italy, France, England, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other countries are fighting side by side with the Spanish, defending the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind on the Spanish fronts.

* * *

"Communists in the front line!" This is the slogan proclaimed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain. And the slogan met with a lively response. In the battles against fascism, in the battles for freedom and happiness in the land, the Communist Party of Spain has lost not a few of its best fighters.

One of the leaders of the Madrid Party organization, by profession a baker, Juan Antonio Eredia, who brilliantly passed the test of underground work, whose spirit long months in solitary confinement in jail could not break down, perished at the gates of Madrid while commanding the "Asturia" battalion of the Fifth Regiment.

Areliano, a Communist, was also a commander of the Fifth Regiment, and the militia men said of him: "Wherever danger is, there is Areliano." He

was struck down by an enemy bullet while commanding the 4th brigade in the defense of the French Bridge from the offensive of the fascists.

Then Captain Ezekiel Moreno Menailla. An old member of the Communist Party in the Badajoz province, he took up arms in the beginning of the fascist mutiny and fought in the battles of Alcala and Toledo. Later, while commanding the 1st Company of one of the battalions of the Fifth Regiment, Menailla perished in battle on the central front.

Evaristo Gil, an active leading member of the Communist Party, leader of the railwaymen, well known to the Madrid workers, also died in battle. Courageous Communists like Commissars Thomas Gonzales and Jesus Montero have also perished.

Young fighters from the United Socialist Youth Alliance display unequalled examples of loyalty to the cause of the people. The names of Andres Martin (Perez) and Lina Oden are famous among millions of people throughout the world.

Andres Martin began to earn his living at the age of thirteen, and while still a lad he joined the revolutionary youth movement. He was one of the leaders of the Y.C.L., one of the most beloved leaders of the Spanish youth. From the first days of the fascist rebellion, Martin took up arms and fought against the enemy of the people, commanding a detachment of the workers' militia; he was killed in the front line of fire.

Lina Oden, one of the closest comrades of Dolores Ibarruri, was one of the leaders of the United Front Alliance and of the Women's Anti-Fascist Committee.

Lina perished in the province of Almeria. She found herself alone and surrounded on the road by fascists and, faced with the alternative of surrendering to the enemy, she turned her last bullet on herself.

During a battle against the rebels on the Grado section of the Asturian front, a young girl, Lempin, was mortally wounded; she was the commander of one of the women's detachments of the Maxim Gorky battalion. The girl commander died just as her unit, despite the desperate resistance of the rebels, had managed to occupy the hill dominating Grado.

Sand, a 19-year-old youth, member of the Barcelona city committee of the United Socialist Youth, was killed in battle on the Madrid front. He was fighting on the barricades during the July events in Barcelona. He was constantly in the foremost position on the Aragon front and commanded a battalion on the Madrid front.

A number of military specialists, who before the rebellion had been regular officers in the Spanish army and remained loyal to the cause of the people, apply their military knowledge with eminent courage and fearlessness in the battles against fascism.

Commander Braniaz—"Father Braniaz" as the men called him, was the best military specialist in the "Lopez Tienda-Libertad" column. When the government units were almost wavering under the pressure of hostile tanks, Braniaz hurled himself to the front and with a fiery speech and by his own example, encouraged the men and led them into a counter-attack. The fascists retreated. On the field of battle cleared of the enemy lay the corpse of Braniaz, mowed down by fire from the tank.

One of the officers of the Spanish Army who from the first day of the rebellion actively fought in defense of the Republic was Colonel Luis Gendolaz, who fell in action on the approaches to Madrid.

The fascists are imbued with particular spite and hatred toward these military specialists of the Spanish Republic who rose in defense of the people. Soon after the treacherous murder of one of the best of the Catalanian people, Buenaventura Durruti, two officers of the Republican Army, well-known as active fighters against fascism and militant commanders, Major Elime Esquobar and Auriel Martinez, were treacherously shot down from behind in Barcelona.

The best representatives of the Spanish intelligentsia are also sacrificing their lives at the front. Emiliano Barral, an active member of the Socialist Party and talented sculptor, organizer of the People's Militia in Segovia, died a glorious death leading the attack on one of the most dangerous sections of the central front.

On the Sierra front a young, prominent anti-fascist student, Nasario Cuartero, General Secretary of the Federal Union of Spanish Students, met his death. Together with many other comrades, he fought for the salvation of Spanish culture, for a free and happy life for the Spanish youth.

* * *

The Spanish anti-fascist toilers are not alone in their struggle: ever fresh units of anti-fascists from different countries come to their assistance by leaving their work and families and ready to lay down their lives in the struggle against fascism. They bring with them to Spain the hearty sympathy and militant solidarity of the whole of progressive mankind. They fight stubbornly and suffer heavy losses.

In the fighting near Madrid on December 1, one of the best, most trained German Communists, a member of the C. C. of the Communist Party of Germany, Hans Beimler, was killed.

Hans Beimler, a locksmith, joined the Communist Party when it was first founded. In 1919 he fought armed in defense of the Bavarian Soviet Republic. For many years he was one of the most

active functionaries of the Communist Party, was elected a deputy to the Bavarian Landtag and later to the Reichstag. He enjoyed the love of the Bavarian workers and was popular among them. The fascists detested him. He was one of the first whom the fascists hastened to arrest after the establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany. Beimler was put in the Dachau concentration camp, where he was most inhumanly tortured. Wanting to get rid of Beimler altogether, but fearing to kill him because of the outburst of indignation his death would have caused among the workers of Bavaria, the fascist butchers left a rope and sharp knife in his cell, in the hope that he would commit suicide. But Beimler told the head official of the concentration camp: "I have been a member of the Communist Party for fourteen years, I have been fighting for my own life and that of the working class, and I am not inclined now to part voluntarily with my life."

The butchers could not break down the energy of a courageous proletarian fighter. Beimler managed to escape. The little book about Dachau, published soon after his escape, was one of the first human documents, astounding in its force and verity, which revealed the brutal face of fascism to the whole of the civilized world. Hitler's fine fellows avenged themselves on Beimler by throwing his wife into jail; she is the captive of the fascist jailers to this day.

During the first weeks of the fascist rebellion in Spain, Beimler began to organize German anti-fascist units which voluntarily joined the armed forces of the Spanish people. He died gloriously as he lived. Dying he cried out "Rot Front!"

Many other German comrades, Communists, Social-Democrats and others perished by Beimler's side in the fighting near Madrid. Both the Political Commissar of the Thaelmann battalion, Gustav Kern, and his army leader Willi Wille, fell in action. A number of Communists also perished: Georg Mayer,

Paul Baumgarten, Rudolph Gemmel, Philipp Mayer, Josef Graff, Willi Pukalus, Wilhelm Engelmann, Robert Vigier, Richard Wagner and Bruno Preuss. A number of Social-Democrats who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Communists also perished: Wilhelm Pfort, Paul Losch, Hans Schwindling and Wilhelm de las Heras; among the fallen German anti-fascists and those belonging to no party are Maslow and Karl Katz.

Great is the number of Italian anti-fascists who have perished on the fronts of Spain.

There is Guido Jacobini, a Communist from Turin. Having arrived in Spain during the first days of struggle against the fascist rebels, he joined a group of gunners in the Fifth Regiment. Jacobini was killed on the Guadarrama front, defending his gun till the last breath.

There is Attilio Fapparotto, a Communist railwayman, who long ago had to quit Italy, who was driven also out of Belgium for taking part in the miners' strike at Borinage, in 1931, and who has been working actively in France among the Italian anti-fascist emigrants. One of the first to go to Spain, he perished on the Huesco front.

Domenico Nardini, an active worker in the Communist Party who fought in the imperialist war, was killed on the Talavera front while fighting in the Italian "Gaston Sozzi" battalion.

Renigio de Pola Maurovich, who perished at the defense of Irun, had been an active member of the Communist Party of Italy from the day of its foundation. During the imperialist war, he was a sailor in the Austro-Hungarian fleet and took part in the famous mutiny of the sailors in Cattaro. After that he carried on illegal Communist work in Italy for many long years. On the eve of his heroic death, he was taking an active part in the anti-fascist movement of France.

Bruno Baldini, a member of the Italian Communist Party since its formation, perished on the Talavera front after fighting with great courage near Irun.

But among the Italian anti-fascists who have perished in Spain there are others besides Communists. Mario Anjeloni, a Republican lawyer; Pietro Bertoni, a gunner, was a Socialist from Bologna; Giuseppe Puddas, member of the Central Committee of the democratic organization "Justice and Liberty"; Giordano Vezzoli, airman, and active worker in the same organization; Enzo Picceli, a young Maximalist; Fernando de Ross, a Socialist student; Mario Rietti, a young journalist belonging to no party, who had warm sympathies for the Communist Party and came from a bourgeois family; a number of Anarchists: Fisco Falasci, Giovanni Berberis and Michele Centrone. They were all people of different ages, different professions, but ready to lay down their lives in the struggle against fascism, and fighting on the different fronts of Spain shoulder to shoulder with the Communists.

From among the English comrades who fought in the International Brigade, the following died in action: Ralph Fox, Arnold Jeans, Ray Cox, Harry Addley, Sydney Avner, Joseph Gough, Martin Messner, L. Birch, F. Brown. There are not a few brave individual fighters among the fallen in Spain who have come from different countries to help in the struggle of the Spanish people. Not long ago the name of a young Belgian Socialist, the editor of the *Peuple*, Pierre Brache, who joined the army of the Spanish people on his own initiative

and perished in the fighting, was mentioned in the world press. Among the dead there is also a young English artist, Felicia Brown, who went to Spain to reproduce in artistic form the heroic realities of the anti-fascist struggle, and who died wounded by a fascist bullet. Among them is a German actor, an anti-fascist emigrant, Alexander Mass, who went to Spain to fight as a volunteer, and there are many others.

* * *

The fascist cannibals want to use the dead to frighten the living; not so long ago the whole cultural world was struck by the news of an unprecedented outrage committed against the body of a Republican airman—one of the many heroes of the glorious Spanish air force—whose body was hacked into pieces and dropped into Madrid by parachute.

But the Spanish people are not to be frightened; neither is it possible to frighten their self-sacrificing comrades-in-arms, the fighters of the International Brigade who have gone to Spain from different parts of Europe. The fighters for the freedom and independence of the Spanish people march boldly into battle, their banners inscribed with the names of their dead heroes. The examples of Eredia, Areliano, Antonio, Colia, Andres Martin, Hans Beimler and many other heroes inspire the fighters to new feats. Ever more and more are taking the places of the fallen fighters.

The Second International and Spain

ON DECEMBER 4, in connection with the appeal of the Socialist Party and the Trade Union Center of Spain, a joint meeting of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals took place in Paris. Having heard the delegates from the Spanish trade unions and the Spanish Socialist Party, this meeting adopted a resolution which says:

"The two Internationals repeat that there can be no question of equality between the legal government of the Spanish Republic and the blood-stained bands led by rebel generals, and that the government is fully entitled to obtain all the means necessary for its own defense. They are of the opinion that at the present moment it is important to concentrate all efforts in checking the reinforcements of the Spanish rebels in arms or men by fascism in other countries.

"They declare that the preservation of peace, which constitutes the supreme interest of the working masses of all countries, and therefore takes the first place among the duties of governments under Socialist control or in which Socialists take part, cannot be assured unless democracy takes a firm stand against fascist blackmail and threats."

However, if we compare the words of this resolution with the deeds of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties in the different countries, there is a clear divergence between the words and deeds. Today, Socialists are leading or participating in the governments of France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Sweden, and in all these countries the governments, under the guise of "neutrality", treat as equals—in direct contradiction to the resolution mentioned

above—"the legal government of the Spanish Republic and the bloodstained bands led by the rebel generals".

In no single one of these countries does the government allow the legal Spanish government to carry out in actual practice the theory that "the government is fully entitled to obtain all the means necessary for its own defense". In all these countries, in downright opposition to the resolution solemnly adopted by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals, the governments, under the guise of caring for the preservation of peace, retreat step by step before "fascist blackmail and threats", i.e., act in direct opposition to the preservation of peace.

The resolution of the Executive Committee of the Socialist and Amsterdam Internationals was adopted, as the Social-Democratic press informs us, after long and passionate discussion. In the main, the resolution, despite its unclarity, the reservations and silent gaps that it contains, corresponds to the will and desires of the tremendous masses of Socialist workers and trade union members. Now it is essential to put into practice all that the resolution says. It is now essential for them to act jointly with the Communist workers who are giving active aid to the Spanish people.

The duty of all honest anti-fascists is indicated in the words of Comrade Dimitroff:

"In the struggle against fascism and war, not empty words, not platonic wishes, but action is needed. To achieve this action it is necessary to bring about the unification of all the forces of the working class and to carry out unswervingly the policy of the Peoples Front."

Concerning Events in Sian (Shensi)

I. JACK

THE mutiny of the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen in Sian (Shensi) and the arrest by them of Chiang Kai-shek have engaged the attention of the whole of Chinese public opinion and caused tremendous alarm in China. On the eve of these events, the whole attention of the country was concentrated on military operations in Suiyuan, where the Chinese Army has been successfully defending itself against the new attack of the Japano-Manchurian bands; the campaign in support of the defenders of Suiyuan embraced all sections of Chinese society. The patriotic outbursts of feeling which the Suiyuan fighting called forth were reminiscent of the days of the heroic defense of Shanghai in 1932.

In a situation like this, the Sian events, objectively speaking, can be estimated as a blow against the unity of the Chinese people. They deflected general attention away from Suiyuan and created a danger of a new internecine war; they strengthened the positions of Japanese military circles. At the same time, they strengthened the positions of the Japophile elements of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government, which had been lying low of late in connection with the growth of the anti-Japanese movement.

Japanese imperialism has already made use of the events in Sian to justify its aggressive, adventurist actions and to mitigate the government crisis at home, by using the "Chinese menace" to scare the opposition, which menace they

alleged had been created by the Chang Hsueh-liang uprising. Japanese imperialism is trying to use this to mitigate the keen dissatisfaction felt at the conclusion of the Japano-German alliance among the broadest circles of the Japanese people.

Therefore, quite independent of the will and, probably, even in spite of the will of the initiators of the Sian activities, the latter were of great service to the bitterest enemies of the Chinese people, namely, the Japanese aggressors!

The details of the Sian uprising are still not fully known. According to the facts supplied from different Chinese and foreign sources, the events were as follows: the uprising took place in the night of December 13, and Chiang Kai-shek was arrested by the mutineers, together with his closest military and political workers accompanying him, i.e., Chen-chen, Kiang Din-yan, Wei Li-huan, Kiang Da-kun, Cheng Ki-chen, Chu Shao-lian, Shao Yuan-tsun, Shao Li-ka, and others.

Chang Hsueh-liang, Yan Hu-chen and others immediately after the uprising despatched a circular telegram to the Nanking government, to the political and military leaders of all provinces, to the editors of newspapers, to public organizations and the whole of Chinese public opinion. In this telegram, Chang Hsueh-liang, Yan Hu-chen and others explained their action against Chiang Kai-shek as follows: they were not in agreement with his policy as expressed in his conciliatory

attitude and capitulation before the foreign aggressor, and in his merciless suppression of the patriotic and democratic movement of the masses of the people, in his policy of inflaming constant internecine warfare over a period of many years.

Chang Hsueh-liang, Yan Hu-chen and others presented the following eight demands to the Nanking government: (1) reorganization of the Nanking government on the basis of the inclusion in the government of representatives of all parties and groupings for the purpose of joint struggle to save the fatherland; (2) cessation of all civil war in the country; (3) immediate release of the leaders of the All-Chinese Association of National Salvation, arrested recently in Shanghai; (4) release of all political prisoners throughout the country; (5) freedom for the patriotic movement; (6) freedom of speech, press, organization, etc.; (7) the actual carrying out of Sun Yat-sen's behests, and (8) the convocation of an All-Chinese Conference to save the fatherland.

On December 15, the press gave out the information that the demands of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen had the support not only of the Commanders of Corps and Divisions subordinated to them, but also of Generals Chang Tao-yuan, Chen-chen, Kiang Tin-yun (the latter two alleged to have been released by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen) and others.

What were the causes of these events? As far as can be judged on the information as yet to hand, the feeling current in the army of Chang Hsueh-liang played the decisive role in these events.

The overwhelming majority of the soldiers, officers and commanders of the Tungpei ("Northeast") army of Chang Hsueh-liang consists of men born in Manchuria; their families, their lands, their homes, all their property remains in Manchuria. And so it is quite natural that the slogans "Clear the Japanese invaders out of Manchuria", "Return all lost territories", "Return home to Man-

churia", have become the most popular slogans in the whole of the so-called "Northeast" army.

The correspondence from Sian published in the *China Weekly Review* of October 24, 1936, is an illustration of the anti-Japanese feelings among the fighters of the Northeastern army:

"It is here that the serious anti-Japanese movement in China is formulating itself—as one might expect that it logically should—among the Northeastern exiles driven from Manchuria in 1931. The Tungpei Army, rank and file, is now, after five years' wandering, in a high temper against the continued 'peace and order' non-resistance policy toward Japan. It is my guess that the first shot fired on the national defense front with full intent and purpose to penetrate a uniformed Nipponese bosom will come from the impatient rifle of one of these homesick, ill-cared-for, ill-equipped, desperate, but *li hai*, men-without-a-country, with or without orders. . . . Among the Tungpei people one finds that 'k'ang erh'—'resisting Japan'—is not regarded as a great and supreme 'sacrifice', but as a duty—and even mayhap as a pleasure.

"The 'Young Marshal', who may be regarded as the most conservative element in the situation, has announced publicly as part of his active new anti-Japanese stand that he is 'prepared to die on the first front whenever the government gives the order'. For the first time since he lost his patrimony in 1931, Chang seems determined to fight, and is taking open leadership of the patriotic movement among his Northeastern followers. I may add that he is very healthy, unscathed by any assassin's bullet, and very busy with the superintendence of military affairs. The spirit of the new movement may be indicated by some of the phrases in recent speeches to his officers: 'The Northeastern Army must stand on the first front on national defense and history gives us the great mission of restoring our lost territory.' 'If my determination wavers, the rifle is in your hand. You can kill me at any time.' 'Resisting Japan is the only way out for the Chinese race.' . . ."

The exact situation seems to be that the Young Marshal, acting on the urgency of his younger officers and men, is,

"... primarily interested only in a real anti-Japanese movement, and sincerely hopes to influence Chiang Kai-shek to lead active resistance if any further pressure is applied, offering full support whenever the order to struggle is given, and affirming the loyalty of the Northwest officers. If no such order is given, and if no ally seems forthcoming from Nanking, quite another attitude may possibly ensue in the near future."

This is the description given of the situation on the eve of the events in Sian by the correspondent of the *China Weekly Review*. Apparently, this picture is very near to the true state of affairs.

What was the immediate cause of the change in relations between Chang Hsueh-liang and Chiang Kai-shek, which served as an impetus for the operations of the Northeastern army and the troops of Yan Hu-chen?

Apparently the cause was disagreement with the position adopted by Chiang Kai-shek at the so-called Sian Conference of military leaders. The new offensive of the Japanese aggressors and their agents upon Suiyuan caused alarm, especially among the Northeastern Army, because for this army it meant, first of all, that there was the danger that the Japanese would seize one of the most important military and strategical points, thus facilitating the task of defending the territory of so-called Manchukuo and considerably complicating the struggle for "the return of lost territories"; and, secondly, that there was the danger of Japanese invasion of Northwest China, which today is the only base of the Northeastern Army.

At this critical moment for the whole of China, Chiang Kai-shek convened a military conference in Sian. It was expected that at this conference everything else would be subordinated to measures for defending the country against Japanese militarism. However, instead of affording military assistance to the hero-

ic defenders of Suiyuan led by Generals Fu Tso-yi, Yen Si-shen, Chao Chen-shou and others, Chiang Kai-shek despatched his best armed units (the units of Hu Tsun-nan, Hwang Lin-chen, Hwang Tse and others) into Shensi and Kiangsu, to carry on a new internal war against the Red Army, and to "discipline" the "demoralized" Northeastern Army. The Chinese and foreign press long ago guessed that this was the aim of the concentration of Chiang Kai-shek's troops in Shensi and Kiangsu. The correspondent of the *China Weekly Review* openly wrote even in October of last year, that:

"Marshal Chiang Kai-shek is rushing his best troops from the South and massing them in the Sian area, including his crack unit, the First Army brought from Kwangsi, under his most loyal anti-Red general, Hu Chung-nan. This move can only be regarded as not only pressure on the Reds, but as a disciplinary measure against the wavering loyalty of the Tungpei [*i.e.*, Northeast—I.J.] troops and as a distinct moral influence on his erstwhile 'little brother', Chang Hsueh-liang."

Apparently it was these last steps taken by Chiang Kai-shek which caused the indignation among the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen, and served as the direct excuse for this indignation being used by Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen for the arrest of Chiang Kai-shek and others in Sian.

We have already written above about the big complications caused by the Sian events in the position of China both at home and on the international arena. The Japanese imperialists have set in motion all their connections with the Nanking government in order to bring about an armed struggle between Nanking and Chang Hsueh-liang and thus to use to the full the Sian events.

However, despite all the negative consequences of the Sian uprising, the events in Sian—if the leaders of the uprising and the Nanking government so desire—can also become the start for the

organization of the united front among all parties and the whole of the troops, and a subsequent joint struggle against the Japanese imperialists. If the events in Sian could end in this way, it would be advantageous to all parties, to all the troops of China and the whole of the Chinese people, and fatal only for the Japanese aggressors and their agents.

As yet we have no completely verified information of the position taken up by the Communist Party of China; however, knowing its general political line, it is to be supposed that it will adopt precisely this line: for the peaceful solution of the conflict on the basis of the creation of a united anti-Japanese national front. From the moment when the Manchurian events took place in 1931, the Chinese Communist Party has always favored a resolute national-liberation struggle against the Japanese aggressor. During the course of the last five years, the Chinese Communist Party has been demanding the cessation of the struggle among the different parties and troops of China and the creation of a united anti-Japanese national front. In the spring of 1933, in connection with the seizure by the Japanese militarists of Jehol, the Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Red Army appealed to all Kuomintang troops as follows:

"The Chinese Red Army is prepared to conclude a military agreement with any Kuomintang units for joint struggle against Japanese imperialism, on the following simple conditions: cessation of the offensive against the Soviet regions, the extension of democratic liberties to the masses of the people, the extension to the masses of the people of the right to organize anti-Japanese volunteers."

On August 1, 1935, on the occasion of the new offensive of Japanese imperialism against the North of China, the C. C. of the Communist Party of China, and the C.E.C. of the Chinese Soviet Republic issued a joint appeal to all the people of China concerning resistance to

Japan and the salvation of the fatherland, in which they declared:

"If the Kuomintang troops cease the offensive against our Soviet regions, if they will conduct a struggle against Japanese imperialism, then, irrespective of the long years of military operations between the Red Army and the Kuomintang units, and the fact that their opinions on the question of the internal struggle of China are directly opposite, the Red Army will not only immediately cease its military operations against them, but will be the first to stretch out a hand to them for a joint armed struggle to save the fatherland."

In November, 1935, in connection with the formation of the so-called Hupeh-Chahar Political Council and the new pressure of Japan upon China, the commanders and political leaders of the Chinese Red Army, headed by Comrades Chu Teh and Chow Yen-lai, issued a proposal to all the military leaders of China, including also Chiang Kai-shek, as follows: "To send immediately representatives from the different army units for negotiations, to call an all-Chinese Conference of delegates from all troops to discuss concrete measures for the creation of an All-Chinese United Anti-Japanese Army."

In August, 1936, the C. C. of the Communist Party of China sent an open letter to the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang with a proposal for the cessation of the internal internecine fighting in China and the establishment of an Anti-Japanese united front. In September, the leader of the Communist Party of China and of the Chinese Red Army, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in an interview with Edgar Shaw, a journalist, once more categorically declared that the Communist Party and the Red Army of China were strongly desirous of obtaining a cessation of civil war and the establishment of collaboration between the Chinese Red Army and all Chinese troops for struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

The essence of the letter of the C. C. of the Communist Party of China to the

C.E.C. of the Kuomintang and the interview given by Comrade Mao Tse-tung are clearly expressed in the resolution of the C.C. of the Communist Party of China of September 27, which runs as follows:

"... A section of the national bourgeoisie have begun to turn their attention toward the united anti-Japanese front. Among the Kuomintang troops there is a growth of anti-Japanese sentiments, and on these grounds there have arisen a division and hesitation in the ranks of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government. This is clearly to be seen in the indecision manifested in the home and foreign policy of the Kuomintang and the Nanking government. It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that as a result of the offensive of the Japanese aggressors there will be a further growth of the anti-Japanese movement and changes in the international situation, that the Kuomintang and the Nanking government will cease to hesitate and begin to take part in the anti-Japanese movement. . . .

"... The inclusion, in the united national front, of the Kuomintang, its government and the army is the most important condition for the conduct of a big and serious armed struggle against the Japanese aggressors, which will be of an all-Chinese character. . . ."

Not only is the policy of the Chinese Communist Party to be found in its documents, but it is actually carried out in practice. The correspondent of the *Chinese Weekly Review* writes to this effect in the issue of October 29, 1936:

"It is common knowledge here that no serious fighting has occurred for some time between the Tungpei troops and the Reds, fraternization between the supposed belligerents going on apace. At present the fighting, so far as I can discover, is being carried on solely by Central Government troops. The effective new policy of the Reds, in conformity with their anti-civil war, anti-Japanese slogan advanced this spring, is never to fight unless attacked, and the Tungpei troops have sedulously avoided attacking. In the meantime the Communist

propaganda offering an anti-imperialist united front against Japan and the formation of a National Defense Government with any and all parties and armed forces, including the Nanking government, does not seem to have been wasted in Shansi or Shensi. After the 'blood-thirsty Bolshevik bandits' had captured as many Tungpei men and officers (in a friendly spirit) as possible, converted them thoroughly to the 'historic necessity' of a united front of all Chinese against imperialism as in the pre-1927 period, and released them as carrier pigeons to return and spread sweetness and light, the idea seems to have spread throughout the Tungpei ranks."

Of late the Chinese Red Army has been adopting a policy of actually ceasing military operations not only against the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang, but the troops of Chiang Kai-shek, in the sense that it has retaliated against the blows of the offensive units only with such action as has been necessary for its own self-defense.

The Communist Party of China is pursuing this policy with tremendous determination, exclusively in the interests of the Chinese people who, in the conditions prevailing in China today, are demanding that everything be subordinated to the creation of a united anti-Japanese national front. And it is therefore no accident that when the conflict began between the Southwest groupings and the Nanking group of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party of China also put forward the slogan "to cease the internal fighting and unite all forces of the Chinese people for the struggle against Japanese imperialism".

During the present critical period, consequent upon the new Japanese offensive against Suiyuan and the events in Sian, the Communist Party of China is undoubtedly in favor of the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen refraining from an armed offensive against the Nanking troops, since such a war would only serve the enemies of the Chinese people, whatever the per-

sonal intentions of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen. The Communist Party of China is no doubt demanding that the leaders and troops of Nanking do not fall victims to Japanese provocation, that they refrain from a military attack against the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yan Hu-chen, because an internal war in China can only serve in the interests of the Japanese aggressor; it can only inevitably call forth still more demoralization and strife among the Nanking troops.

The Sian events in themselves cannot fail to force Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters to ponder very seriously. Chang Hsueh-liang—no less than the Vice-President of the Military Council of the Nanking government and the Commander-in-Chief of the Nanking troops—is a man who has respected the Kuomintang, the Nanking government and Chiang Kai-shek for a long time, and who has always subordinated himself to them. Only three months ago Chang Hsueh-liang swore an oath of loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek. And today, Chang Hsueh-liang with his troops has mutinied against the policy of Chiang Kai-shek and arrested him. It is clear that there is no guarantee that similar acts of this kind will not be repeated if the Kuomintang and the Nanking government continue their policy of conciliation and capitulation before the foreign aggressor and the policy of civil war and suppression of the national-liberation movement inside the country, for the country can only be truly united if the government will conduct a policy which corresponds to the interests of the people.

The events in Sian point to the fact that if Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang were to pursue a different policy, namely, a policy of resistance to the foreign aggression of Japanese imperialism by the establishment of a united anti-Japanese national front of the whole of the Chinese people, it is unlikely that any military leader would dare to act against the government.

The Communists, who are the true initiators and supporters of the united anti-Japanese national front of all parties and troops of the Chinese people, are striving to prevent a new outburst of internecine war in connection with the events in Sian. Taking as a basis the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to the Kuomintang and the interview given by Mao Tse-tung, which offers a detailed description of the political line of the Party, we can be sure that the Communist Party of China today is in favor of a peaceful solution of the conflict, demanding the cessation of internecine warfare and the policy of destruction against the Red Army, demanding that the people be guaranteed their democratic rights, demanding collaboration between all supporters of the movement for the defense of the integrity and independence of China, the establishment of collaboration with those states which sympathize with the liberation struggle of the Chinese people against the offensive of Japanese imperialism.

A peaceful solution of the conflict in Sian on these conditions would mean a big step forward in the history of the development of the Chinese people.

Open Letter to the Kuomintang by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

OVER a year has passed since the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Soviet Government and the Red Army published their declaration concerning resistance to Japan to save the country. Although our platform, the aim of which is to form a united national front including all parties, groupings and circles, for joint struggle against Japan, has the support of all patriotic leaders and the people throughout the country, your party and your government have not resolved to adopt this platform and, therefore, the sacred national war of defense has not yet been launched.

The Japanese aggressors, utilizing this fact, have still further increased their aggression and, having obtained a finger, are demanding the whole hand. We are threatened with the danger of total enslavement, and the whole of our people are in a state of constant panic. This tremendous danger is only the result of the mistaken policy of your party and your government.

At this critical moment today, when we are threatened with the doom of our land and nation, our Party cannot fail to appeal to you once more for the immediate cessation of civil war, for the establishment of a united national anti-Japanese front, for the organization of a sacred national war of defense so as to defeat the aggression of Japanese imperialism, defend and restore the territorial sovereign rights of China and save the whole of our people from tremendous calamities.

If, as hitherto, you continue the civil war, instead of turning your bayonets

against the foreign enemy, if you will not give up the policy of concessions, and undertake resistance against the Japanese aggressors, if you will not give up the policy of disunity and conduct that of solidarity and unity, then an indescribable catastrophe will occur, and you shall never be able to erase this crime before the court of history. Therefore, with all sincerity, we appeal to you and to all members of your party in this present letter.

We have studied the Manifesto issued by the last, second, plenary session of the Central Committee of your party and also the report of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek at the same plenary session. We consider that the plenary session of your party has not yet given a definite reply to the question concerning the plan of national salvation, which in the highest degree occupies the minds of the whole of our people, and has not made the essential radical changes in the foreign policy which were proposed at the Fifth Congress of your party and were expressed in the words: "Until such time as all hopes of peace vanish before us, we shall not reject peace; and we shall not speak lightly of sacrifice until the last moment, when these sacrifices will become necessary." This could not but call forth deep disillusionment among the patriotic masses of the people of our country.

True, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek in his report gave a new interpretation of the policy adopted by the Fifth Kuomintang Congress, when he said: "In our foreign policy, the minimum demand of the central government is the preservation of

the integrity of our territorial sovereignty. We shall never tolerate any country encroaching on our territorial sovereignty. We shall never conclude any agreement that may violate our territorial sovereignty. In the same way we shall not permit any cases of violation against our territorial sovereignty. To speak more clearly, if, for example, anyone tries to force from us recognition of a puppet state, i.e., the signing of an agreement violating our territorial sovereignty, this will mean that the last moment has arrived when our patience is exhausted and we shall have to make extreme sacrifices."

This explanation given by Mr. Chiang Kai-shek is extremely essential, because the people of China up to now have been unable to understand the meaning of that last moment when "all hopes of preserving peace vanish before us and it will be necessary to make great sacrifices". We recognize that this new interpretation given by Mr. Chiang Kai-shek is something in the nature of a step forward in comparison with the past, and we sincerely welcome it. But fundamentally this explanation does not yet sufficiently respond to the demands of the whole of our people, for in the other part of his report, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek stated that: "All hope of peace is not yet lost, judging by the diplomatic situation during the last six months. . . . As compared with what we had six months ago, there still remains a ray of hope for peace. I can say boldly that we have not yet arrived at the last critical moment, judging from the results of our diplomacy."

That is why Mr. Chiang Kai-shek still was not desirous of raising the task of organizing a united anti-Japanese front, refused to begin immediately a sacred war against Japan and continues his policy of concessions, referring to the defeat of Ethiopia as justification for such a policy. This is to be regretted and is far from corresponding with the demands of the masses of the people.

The loss of the four Northeastern provinces, the occupation of the greater part of Chahar, the unbridled license of the so-called anti-Communist autonomous government of East Hupeh, the fact that the Hupeh-Chahar Political Council has become a mere puppet, the increase in Japanese military forces in Hupeh and Chahar, North China's loss of economic rights, the open distribution of contraband articles throughout the whole country, the restrictions imposed upon national industry and trade, the menace of the approaching complete bankruptcy which faces the finances of the state, the destruction of the customs and administrative regime, the widespread network of Japanese administrative bodies with special tasks to fulfil in the North and Northwest of China, the united offensive of the Japanese, Manchurian and Mongolian troops under Japanese command in Suiyuan, the formation of the so-called government of Inner Mongolia, the unrestricted flight of hostile airplanes over our territory, the outrageous acts of the Japanese Ronini*, the suppression—by direct or indirect order of Japanese aggressors—of the patriotic movement of the students and patriotic propaganda among the people, the mass murder of workers and peasants, the unbearable insults against many patriotic citizens in the army, among the police, among journalists, and even among a number of prominent representatives of your party and leaders of your government, the violent removal of patriotically inclined troops from the garrisons, the threat to seize Tsindao, incitement to the "autonomous" movement in South China, etc.—all these factors, in the eyes of the people of our country, signify the violation of the territorial sovereign rights of China.

In the eyes of the people the Shanghai-Busin agreement concerning a truce, the agreement in Tangu, the agreement of He Intsin Humets, the agreement for

* Ronini—Bands of Japanese robbers.

struggle against the Communists in North China, and other signed and unsigned agreements are all, without exception, violations of the territorial integrity and rights of China.

This is why the whole of the people consider that any hope of peace vanished long ago, and that it is already high time to make up our minds to extreme sacrifices. There is no other way to preserve the territorial integrity of China and save it from perishing than to conduct a determined national war of defense through the mobilization of the people and armed forces of the country.

Japanese imperialism will never relinquish its robber plan of enslaving China until that plan is smashed to atoms at one determined blow by all the forces of China mobilized for battle. The change in the form and direction of the aggression of Japanese imperialism and its declaration of "economic collaboration" in no measure signify that Japanese imperialism intends to cease its aggression, but is only an attempt to facilitate its rapacious assault. And anyone who thinks he can assert that there are any fresh hopes of peace since the Japanese robbers, after bringing new troops into Chahar and Hupeh, turned their special attention for a moment on the economic aggression in North China, is only deceiving himself.

Completely illusory also is the view that the Japanese robbers will limit their invasion of the territory to the north of the Yellow River, and that the south can count upon quiet and peace. Why, look! Even while you are saying that there is still hope for peace, the troops of Japan, the troops of Manchukuo, are undertaking a new big offensive against Suiyuan; beginning first of all with the creation of a network of administrative organs for special purposes in Suiyuan, Ninsu, Inner Mongolia and Kiangsu. The Japanese aggressors have now begun to build central airdromes and branches in all these places.

In Szechwan, in connection with their demand that a consulate be opened in

Chendu, an incident occurred as a result of which our own patriotic citizens were killed. Having obtained fresh reinforcements, the Japanese troops in North China are ardently preparing for new seizures. Information is being received concerning small conflicts between the outposts of the 29th Army and the Japanese troops. The situation in the north is becoming more and more alarming.

Japanese so-called economic and military research commissions are entering all parts of China under the pretext of making investigations. The network of Japanese intelligence organizations covers all parts of the country and is even penetrating into the most varied organizations of your own party and your government. All this points to the fact that our country is in an extremely critical situation; it is menaced with the danger of being seized once and for all by the Japanese imperialists. There is no longer any hope for peace with the Japanese aggressors. It is absolutely essential, therefore, to resist. All this is beyond question. And your arguments are absolutely mistaken.

In the declaration of the last, second, plenary session of the Central Committee of your party, we find the solemn statement that:

"The essential factor for resisting aggression is a concentration of all the forces of national salvation under the guidance of the center, so that these forces can march shoulder to shoulder and reinforce their front. Therefore, in order to resist aggression and save the country, it is essential to have complete unity and discipline. This is an unshakable, iron law. The more so, therefore, does unity of the military administration and command constitute the minimum demand put forward to the present state."

We are in full agreement that in order to mobilize the forces of the whole of the Chinese people, in order to ensure the complete success of the war and resistance, it is absolutely essential to concentrate and unite all the forces which stand

for the salvation of the country. During the Mukden events* our Party, the Soviet government and the Red Army were already calling upon the people and the troops throughout the country to join the sacred national-revolutionary struggle so as to drive Japanese imperialism out of China.

After the Shanghai battles in 1932, our Party, the Soviet government and the Red Army made a proposal to the army units of your party and your government who were then besieging the Soviet region, to put an end at once to the civil war and negotiate for peace in order to conduct a joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

Immediately after the North Chinese incident, we once more made a proposal for a new policy, for the most rapid organization of a broad, united anti-Japanese front covering all parties, groupings and circles to be found in our country, at the same time making constant proposals to your party and government to cease the civil war, in order to march against Japan in a united front. We also proposed the immediate convening of a congress of delegates elected from the people and army units, wishing to fight against Japanese aggression, in order to lay down basic measures for the anti-Japanese struggle and national salvation, the election of an All-Chinese united government of national defense, and the organization of the united anti-Japanese army on a broad scale.

We declared firmly that the Soviet government is prepared to take part in a government of national defense organized on these lines, and that the Red Army is prepared to subordinate itself to the command of the united anti-Japanese army, and to fight on any definite section of the front to which it is allocated, and fulfil the fighting tasks entrusted to it. This proposal of our Party,

our Soviet government and the Red Army fully coincides with the demands of the people of the whole country, and is the only correct policy of national salvation. Never before have the people of the whole country demanded so insistently that civil war cease and that all forces be concentrated and united for the common struggle against Japan, as they are demanding today. Only the Japanese aggressors and their agents are interested in inciting to further constant quarrels, to civil war in China, for it is precisely this that they require as a condition for the complete enslavement of China.

And meanwhile the line adopted by the last, second, plenary session of the Central Committee of your party, which calls for "concentration and unity", raises the question upside down. You must realize that the reason the civil war has not ceased during the last ten years, the reason why there is no unity, lies in the policy of your party and government, which has been ruinous for our country, the policy of dependence upon imperialism and, in particular, the policy of non-resistance which has been pursued since the Mukden events.

Under the slogan of your party and government, "first pacification at home and then resistance against the foreign enemy", the civil war dragged on for years, one campaign after another was sent against the Soviet regions and the Red Army, and the patriotic democratic movements of the people throughout the country were suppressed by every possible means. And even until quite recently you have pursued the policy of leaving the Northeast and North China to their fate, forgetting that Japanese imperialism is the bitterest enemy of China, and you have thrown all forces into the struggle against the Soviets and the Red Army, sowing internecine warfare in our own ranks.

You utilized to the utmost all the forces at your disposal to cut off the advance of the Red Army on the front of direct struggle against Japan; you de-

* September 18, 1931—the day the Japanese seized Mukden, the beginning of the actual occupation of Manchuria.

moralized the anti-Japanese movement in the rear of the Red Army; you ignored the anti-Japanese demands of the whole country and deprived the people of their civil rights. A situation was created in which patriotism was qualified as a crime, and patriots were unjustly persecuted and confined in prisons throughout the country. Treachery against our people is encouraged, and the traitors congratulate each other on the promotions they are given. To resort to such a mistaken policy for purposes of "concentration and unity" is, in truth, to do the same as the proverb says: "Climb a tree to catch a fish." Only the opposite results can be obtained from such a policy.

We sincerely warn you that if you do not change your mistaken policy and turn your hatred against Japanese imperialism, instead of directing it against your own brothers, we shall be unable to maintain even the situation which exists today, not to mention the fact that "concentration, unity and the modern state" will all remain so many empty words.

Our people today demand concentration and unity directed toward the struggle against Japan and for national salvation, and not kowtowing to foreigners and smothering the people. The whole of our people insistently demand today that a government be set up which will effectively fight for the salvation of the country and the nation.

They demand a truly democratic republic and democratic government, acting in the interests of the people and according to a program which will allow, first, the organization of resistance against Japanese aggression; second, the safeguarding of civil rights of the people; third, the guarantee of development of national economy and the mitigation and elimination of the sorrows and privations which the people are suffering today.

If we raise the question of the modern state in the true sense of the word, then these programmatic demands are precisely the conditions necessary at the

present moment for semi-colonial China. But while the people of the whole country are yearning for a resolute struggle to be waged to realize these conditions, your party and your government are pursuing a policy which is totally contradictory to the desires of the people. It is absolutely out of the question to think of winning the confidence of the people in this way.

The Communist Party of China, the Chinese Soviet government and the Chinese Red Army declare in all seriousness that they stand for the creation of a united democratic Chinese republic, for the convening of a National Assembly through general elections and the formation of an All-Chinese United Government of National Defense. We declare that the moment a united democratic Chinese Republic is established, the Soviet regions will become composite parts of the united democratic republic, the delegates from the population of the Soviet regions will participate in the National Assembly, and a democratic system will be set up in the Soviet regions similar to that introduced in the remaining parts of the country.

We consider that the Council of National Defense, the organization planned by your party at the last, second, plenary session of the Central Committee, and the National Assembly, which is being called now by your party and government, cannot fulfil the task of concentration and uniting the forces to save the country. In the Council of National Defense provided for by your plenary session, only a small circle of officials holding the reins of power in your party or the government will take part; also, by virtue of the tasks entrusted to it, it is only a consultative body attached to your government.

It is perfectly clear that such a council can do nothing and cannot win the confidence of the people. According to the "Draft Constitution of the Chinese Republic", the "organizational position concerning the National Assembly", and the "law governing elections to the Na-

tional Assembly", adopted by your party and government, the National Assembly which you insist on convening, similarly cannot achieve anything, cannot win the confidence of the people, for this meeting will be a body wholly in the hands of a small circle of officials of your party and government, it will serve only as its bauble and appendage.

A Council of National Defense and National Assembly of this kind can have nothing in common with the All-Chinese anti-Japanese Congress of National Salvation (the Council of National Defense), the democratic Chinese Republic and its parliament, as they were proposed by the Communist Party. We consider that the anti-Japanese Congress of National Salvation should be composed of delegates from all parties, groupings, circles and army units, so that it can thus effectively serve as a representative body for determining the measures essential in offering resistance to Japan and for national salvation, and form an All-Chinese United Government of National Defense.

In just the same way, the National Assembly must be elected by the people throughout the country and be the supreme organ of power in the democratic Chinese Republic. Only a Council of National Defense, only an All-Chinese Parliament of this kind can meet with the approval and support of the people, only in them will the people take an active part, only they can put the tremendous work of saving the country and the people on a truly firm and invincible basis. In the other event, however loud-sounding the names of these bodies, they will be of no use, and the people of the land will never support them. We have proof of this in the failure of different congresses and conferences convened in the past by your party and government.

The Central Committee of your party pointed out in its declaration that "adversities and difficulties are no surprise to us and we shall never shirk the responsibility which, in this connection, lies upon us"; and further, "our Party will

do all in its power and all of which it is capable to fight to the end for the future of our country".

Of course, your party, which is the ruling party over a large part of the territory of the country, must bear the political responsibility for all that has taken place in the past. The Kuomintang cannot shirk this responsibility since it is the dictator in the National government. In particular, after the Mukden events, your party acted against the will and the interests of the people of the whole country. And as a result of this mistaken policy almost half the territory of our country is lost, and the responsibility for this can by no means be shifted from your party to other shoulders.

Therefore our Party and the whole of the people of our country consider that in so far as the loss of almost half the territory of the country is the consequence of your policy, the responsibility for restoring what has been lost inevitably lies upon your party. At the same time, in your party also there are not a few conscious elements, who, realizing all the horror of the approaching fate of the country, and the fact that any action against the will of the people is not to be tolerated, are beginning to adopt a new attitude and to express their indignation and dissatisfaction at those elements in their own ranks who have caused, and are still causing, harm to their party and the country.

The Communist Party of China fully sympathizes with this new change, warmly welcomes the efforts and conscientious attitude of these members of the Kuomintang, which are inspired by patriotic sentiments, which support and inspire the heroism of the Chinese nation, and approve their self-sacrificing desire to fight to save the country from ruin, and their bold new efforts in this direction. We know that there is a large number of conscious patriots, the number of which is steadily growing, in the central and local committees of your party, in your central government and local government bodies, and in all social,

cultural and business circles, among the students, scientific workers, in the world of art, among journalists, women and industrial circles, in religious societies, among medical workers, and even in the ranks of the police, in different mass organizations, especially in broad military circles among the leaders of your party and its members, old and new. This is a very pleasing fact.

The members of the Communist Party of China are prepared at any time to offer a hand to the members of the Kuomintang in organizing a national united front of struggle against the bitterest enemy of the people, Japanese imperialism. We hope that these members of the Kuomintang will, in a short space of time, become such an influential force in the ranks of their party, that they can keep the upper hand over all the worst, disgraceful elements of the Kuomintang who, against the interests of the people, are actually acting as the agents of Japanese imperialism and traitors of the country, namely, those who disgrace the name of Dr. Sun Yat Sen.

We hope that this influential force will restore the revolutionary spirit of the three popular principles of Dr. Sun, will restore the threefold policy: alliance with the U.S.S.R., alliance with the Communist Party, and support of the workers' and peasants' movement. We hope that it will devote all its "mental powers and abilities" to carry out to the end the three revolutionary popular principles and threefold policy, and to put into practice the doctrine of Dr. Sun as laid down in his last political testament, "fight to the finish". We hope that this force will take the responsibility for carrying out to a finish the revolutionary work of Dr. Sun and will rise up resolutely with all parties, groupings and circles, all patriotic leaders and all our patriotic people, and fight to drive Japanese imperialism from China, for the democratic rights of the whole of the people, for the development of the national economy of China, to get rid of the

suffering of the majority of the Chinese people and to set up a Chinese democratic republic, its democratic parliament, and democratic government.

The Communist Party of China declares to all members of the Kuomintang: If you truly want to fight in this direction, we will resolutely support you. We are prepared to form a strong revolutionary united front with you, as was the case during the first great Chinese revolution in 1925-27, when there existed a broad united front for struggle against national and feudal oppression, for that is the only proper way to save our country today.

You and all members of the Kuomintang, most probably, have not yet forgotten the glorious history of collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang during the first great revolution. It was precisely thanks to this collaboration that all the national and feudal oppressors shook before us. At that time, our national oppressors, and Japanese imperialism in particular, were very much afraid that our collaboration might lead to final victory and the complete emancipation of China. Therefore they sowed the seeds of strife between us and set in motion all possible means, threats and temptations, as a result of which one side gave up collaboration and buried the united front.

Do you feel no pricks of conscience when you recall all this today? Today it is clear to all that if the Kuomintang had collaborated with the Communist Party to the end, China would not have been in the position it finds itself today, when it is torn to pieces with impunity, when it is almost half enslaved; but China would have been an independent and free country. At the present time the people of the whole country are passionately desirous of restoring the collaboration between both parties, in order to save the country, being fully convinced that only by restoring the collaboration between both parties, and only through a broad alliance with the remaining

parties, groupings and circles, can the salvation of our country truly be achieved.

Japanese imperialism and the traitors, of course, will try once more to prevent collaboration, for they know that it will be the last, fatal blow for them. The so-called "three principles" presented by Japanese imperialism to your government, the immediate aim of which is the "struggle against Communism", is just one of these attempts to prevent this collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and, should collaboration be arrived at, to smash it.

There are two alternatives: to form an anti-Communist front, i.e., a united front to enslave the country, together with Japanese imperialism and national traitors, or a united anti-Japanese front, i.e., a united front to save the country, together with the Communist Party of China and the whole of our people. The moment has come for the final choice. All hesitation and delay will lead only to the ruin of the country and the people and will serve the purpose of Japanese imperialism. The key to collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party lies in your hands. For, as stated by your Central Committee, your party is responsible for the fate of the land. And if your party truly wants to bear the responsibility for saving the country, then the moment has now come when you must come to the final decision. When the country has already been enslaved, it will be too late to repent about collaboration.

We, for our part, have been prepared for a long time to send our representa-

tive at any time and to any place to undertake practical and concrete negotiations with your representative, in order to arrive as quickly as possible at a concrete agreement concerning the anti-Japanese front to save the country; and we shall strictly observe this agreement.

When a united front has been set up between us and you, including all parties, groupings and circles of our country, on that day we, together with you and all the people of China, will have the right to cry aloud:

"Let the cowardly traitors and scoundrels cry out in the face of Japanese imperialist violence: 'China is not strong enough to fight against Japan.'"

The sons of the great Chinese people swear that they will neither surrender nor retreat! We shall fight to the last drop of blood for the independence and emancipation of the great Chinese people. China is not Ethiopia! The day will come when 450,000,000 Chinese people will proudly raise the banner of the final victory of the national revolution in the East, and will stretch forth a hand to all liberated people, including the Japanese people, who will throw off their imperialists in order to make the whole world beautiful and shining in the light of the new peace!

Let the enemy quake before our united front! Victory is ours!

With national revolutionary greetings,

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.

August 25, 1936.

Hitler in Alsace

BY HUGO EBERLEIN

THE shamelessness with which Hitler demanded the suppression of Communist propaganda in Alsace-Lorraine and the official protest made by Hitler's ambassador in Paris to the Blum government against the speech of Thorez have shown world public opinion that, despite all lying assertions, National-Socialism has not stricken the reconquest of Alsace-Lorraine from its plans of conquest. In view of this situation it is not unimportant to know the attitude of the population of Alsace-Lorraine itself toward German fascism.

During the war the men of Alsace-Lorraine served unwillingly in the German army, and many of them fought on the French side. The defeat of German imperialism and the reunion with France were hailed with joy by the great majority of the people of Alsace-Lorraine. Fifty years of Prussian domination, under the heel of the police and bureaucrats, had not succeeded in eradicating their love for France as the country of the revolution, of peasant liberation and of democracy. On the contrary, the "Prussian bluster" of the imported officials and policemen, of the officers and non-commissioned officers in the numerous garrisons of the border district, the baiting of recruits according to all the rules of the art of the semi-absolutist Hohenzollern regime, soon made the population forget the great economic advance in the years following 1870-71 and encouraged their wish for reunion with France.

Only a small section of the big capitalists were connected with the German bourgeoisie. To be sure, the workers of Alsace-Lorraine had been closely interwoven with the German labor movement which was highly developed in its organization. But the transition of German Social-Democracy to social-imperialism after August 4, 1914, put an end to this connection also.

The reunion of the people of Alsace-Lorraine to France was in accordance with the will of the great majority of the people. But the victorious French bourgeoisie has done everything to show the people of Alsace-Lorraine that in the French Republic also they have remained "inferiors". French finance capital has taken pleasure in "compensating" de Wendel and his colleagues, the war profiteers. They traded the country's railways among themselves and exploited the Saar district jointly. They extracted countless millions of profit out of reconstruction work and reparations.

Meanwhile the peasants of the country were being made to feel that they had lost their markets in the industrial centers of Southwest Germany. Their wine and vegetables could not be sold or had to be given up at ridiculously low prices. The great Alsatian textile industry, which had lost the German market, was in a pitiable state of stagnation. Only the lords of heavy industry were doing good business.

If the Prussians had treated Alsace-Lorraine as a conquered colonial coun-

try, the French bourgeoisie acted no differently after 1918. They regarded and treated this country as a French colony. Like Algiers or Morocco, Alsace-Lorraine was a colonial territory for the "inland French". The higher officials in the police, judicial system and army, coming from France, felt themselves quite in the position of colonial officials and behaved accordingly toward the population. Even if the outward manners of the French officials did not reach the brutality of the Prussians, this was more than counter-balanced by a hitherto unknown corruption.

Complete chaos reigned in the language question. The old people in the country who had been educated before 1870 spoke French; the generations from 1870 to 1918 speak German, and the youth of today again speak French.

Through their policy carried out only in the interests of the big bourgeoisie and through their toleration of the foulest corruption, the reactionary French governments of Tardieu, Laval and the rest have prevented Alsace-Lorraine from economically and ideologically assimilating with France. Those who regarded Alsace-Lorraine merely as a region to be exploited, regarded its population merely as a welcome addition to the objects of exploitation. They saw in the broad sections of the middle class and the peasants merely a bothersome competition which had to be suppressed.

Notwithstanding this, no special inclination was to be observed among the Alsations for a return to Germany.

Apart from the class-conscious proletariat with its international orientation in Alsace-Lorraine and apart from the big bourgeoisie who were guided by German or French interests, a tendency had for a long time been making itself felt, especially in the broad middle sections of the population, toward "being neither German nor French". Their cherished dream was an independent state similar to the Eastern border states. Separatist and autonomous tendencies found numerous adherents among

these sections. These tendencies remained in force in the first period after Hitler's coming to power in Germany.

The situation changed radically after the Saar Plebiscite. Hitler's great success in the Saar Plebiscite caused the wavering middle sections to incline toward the side of the stronger, i.e. toward Hitler Germany. They were further encouraged by the shameful betrayal of their interests by the Lorraine heavy industry which was under French influence; this brought them into greater contradiction with France. The Alsatian peasants, who had had a large-scale customer for their agricultural produce in the industrial region of the Saar, were betrayed during the economic negotiations with Germany after the restoration of the Saar, for the Lorraine heavy industry sacrificed the vital interests of the Alsatian peasants for its own profit during these negotiations with Germany.

Thus much of the sympathy of the Alsatian middle classes for France was destroyed. Many threw themselves into the arms of Hitler fascism. The separatists became avowed agents of Hitler in Alsace, while the autonomists, under the influence of the clergy, who defend their ecclesiastical rights against the French clergy and are today following the Pope's instructions in rabidly attacking the Communists and opposing the People's Front, have already declared the slogan: "Rather with Hitler than with Moscow."

Since then Hitler has gained strong positions in Alsace which cannot be left out of account by the People's Front.

Whole packs of German plainclothesmen, spies and propagandists are working in Alsace. The separatist newspapers are directed and subsidized from Berlin. The strongest propaganda is carried on by the Evangelical clergy, who openly favor National-Socialism. The Ex-Servicemen's Unions, in which officers and non-commissioned officers of the old German army have the main influence, are the stronghold of National-Socialist propaganda. Goebbels expends large sums of money in order to accommodate

Alsatian families in Germany during their vacation, and here they are skillfully plied with propaganda. The Strassburg Broadcasting Station, which is clumsily managed, is hardly listened to at all; going down the street of an evening, one hears radio programs from Germany in every house and every restaurant.

* * *

Eleven months sojourn in the Strassburg Examination Jail enabled me to observe the strong influence of German National-Socialism. All middle and lower officials were open German National-Socialists. The higher officials such as the public prosecutor, examining magistrate and judge were French fascists.

On the very day of my arrest Police Commissars Becker and Leonard received me with the remark: "*A pity the Gestapo isn't here, then you'd get it hot.*" At the same time there was a rabid campaign being carried on against the Soviet Government, whose members were described only as a "gang" or "rascals", despite the fact that the Soviet Government had signed treaties with the French government which have done much for the peace of Europe and can do still more. In answer to my remarks about the dreadful terror of fascism in Germany, Becker answered me with the approbation of the examining magistrate: "Oh, it's not at all so bad in Germany." On the third day of my arrest a police official came in and said to me: "So you're still here, eh? Probably because you're too stingy. Things here aren't as decent as in Hitler's country. Money will get you anything you want from them"—and he pointed to the room of the police commissars.

The only ornament in my cell consisted of twelve swastikas, and despite my request they were not removed by the prison authorities. There was in the prison a library of about 70 volumes, and all the books consisted of Pan-German literature; there was not a single book which did not contain the most rabid

and abominable propaganda against France. Every book was full of the most stupid incriminations and insults of the French people. For example, there was a ten-cent thriller called *Das Oratorium* by Stegmann which contained literally the following: "The French are a people of rogues who must be wiped out." When I complained to the warden of the prison about this sort of literature, nothing was done. Not until eight months later, after the elections in the spring of 1936, was this literature suddenly removed and destroyed, but no new books were provided. The German-speaking prisoners were accordingly instigated against me because it was supposed to be my fault that their books had been removed.

The greatest part of the warders are open National-Socialists; many of them were sergeants or non-commissioned officers in the Germany army during the war. If any German National-Socialists are brought to this prison, these men treat them in the friendliest possible fashion, whereas others are continually being shouted at and baited, the younger ones being sometimes even beaten. Jewish prisoners were treated in a particularly shameless manner. One warder told me that when listening to Hitler's speech over the radio on the march of the German troops into the neutral zone, he had shed tears of enthusiasm. Another told me the day before the elections: "I hope the parties of the People's Front will get licked tomorrow." And a third, a Prussian cavalryman named Rusch, who was specially vicious, declared after Blum had been appointed Prime Minister: "Blum is just as much a rogue as the other French ministers. When he has stolen enough to fill his pockets, he will clear out."

But the Nazi propaganda of all the others was surpassed by the Evangelical clergyman; although he knew that I did not belong to his church, he visited me in my cell, drew an enthusiastic picture of the new Germany under Hitler's rule, and advised me to make my peace with Hitler!

It is no contradiction when the higher French officials work hand in hand with the middle and lower officials, who are German Nazis; for it is well known that the fascists of all countries pass the cards to one another like old and experienced card-sharps.

If things are like this among the French officials, one can easily conclude what progress German Nazi propaganda has made among the middle classes in general, and among one section of the unemployed and non-political workers in particular. "Only Hitler can save us", is a phrase frequently to be heard, which is meant to give expression to the people's aversion for the "inland French".

However, it would be quite wrong to conclude from this that the whole people of Alsace-Lorraine is today under the influence of National-Socialism. In addition to the class-conscious proletariat, there is not only strong feeling against the Hitler regime among the workers, but even among the peasantry and the intellectuals there are many elements who are opposed to Hitlerite barbarism. If these forces are too little in evidence, this is due to their defensive tactics; Hitler's friends, on the other hand, make a great deal of noise and pretend to have more strength than they really possess.

The influence of the Nazis in Alsace-Lorraine is not in the nature of an inevitable destiny. If the French Government breaks with the old methods of government in Alsace; if it ceases to regard Alsace-Lorraine as the newest French colony; if it helps the population of Alsace-Lorraine in economic spheres and opens the French market for the produce of the Alsatian poor and middle peasants; if it ceases to undercut the Alsatian vine-growers with Algerian wine; if it sets free the masses of Lorraine workers from the clutches of de Wendel and his colleagues, who today are still ardent adherents of the old "silent regime" on the Saar; if it removes the old colonial administrators from the state machine and appoints officials who enjoy the confidence of the

population; if it respects the language of the Alsations, their national culture and their national peculiarities; if it wholly fulfils its People's Front program in Alsace-Lorraine and does not content itself with humble beginnings of this program—then it will be quite possible, and even easy, to break the influence both of the Nazis and of the French fascists in Alsace-Lorraine and to win the working people of this country for the People's Front movement against fascism and against war.

That these possibilities exist, is proved by the meetings that were organized by the Communists in Alsace. Threatened by the fascists, all forces of the People's Front declared their solidarity with the Communists; they are ready for united struggle against fascism.

The Communist Party of France has fully recognized the importance of the Alsace-Lorraine question for the struggle against fascism and in particular against Hitler fascism. For years past it has been demanding that an end be put to the corrupt regime of administration in Alsace-Lorraine; it defends the national demands of the people of Alsace-Lorraine; it demands economic measures to benefit the workers and peasants of this border country.

The Communist Party of France, in closest alliance with the Communists of Alsace-Lorraine, has launched a struggle against the fascist forces in Alsace. The General Confederation of Labor, in which Social-Democrats and Communists are today working shoulder to shoulder, is upholding the interests of the workers of Alsace-Lorraine with the same energy and with the same firm will as those of the French proletariat. This struggle is an important part of the struggle of the People's Front against fascism and reaction throughout all France. The Blum Government, which drew back before the threats of the fascist clique of officials and bourgeois in Alsace-Lorraine, just as it did before the threats of Hitler, and which prohibited Communist meetings, thus

failed to carry out the will of the People's Front forces in Alsace-Lorraine and throughout all France.

The legitimate economical, political and national demands of the people of Alsace-Lorraine form a necessary component part of the whole French People's Front movement. The whole freedom-loving, progressive, anti-fascist French people has the highest interest in seeing that the Blum Government takes and carries through vigorous meas-

ures against the undermining work both of Nazi agents and of French fascists in Alsace-Lorraine, purges the administrative machine and gives economic aid.

With such a policy it will not be difficult to win Alsace-Lorraine completely for the cause of peace and democracy, and thus to set up a still stronger line of defense against Hitler fascism and against war than the Maginot line can be.

It Was a Case of Joyless Love

By H. WALECKI

ON NOVEMBER 22, there appeared the last number of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, published in the town of Brno, Czechoslovakia. The *Arbeiterzeitung* is the organ of the Austrian Socialists.

The leading article, headed "Farewell", begins with the words:

"We are compelled to cease the weekly publication of the '*Arbeiterzeitung*' on the territory of the Czechoslovakian Republic. Today our weekly is appearing for the last time in Brno." [Italics in the original.—H.W.]

It goes on to explain the cause for this compulsory cessation of publication:

"In view of the fact that the Austrian government itself has not been in a position to cut off the distribution of the *Arbeiterzeitung* it has been trying to get it proscribed through diplomatic negotiations. The changes in the international situation in the Danube countries, which also determine the foreign policy of the Czechoslovakian Republic, favored such a policy. And indeed, henceforth the *Arbeiterzeitung* can no longer appear on the territory of the Czechoslovakian Republic." [Italics in the original.—H.W.]

Just a few words in comment on this communique which, though restrained in tone, is sufficiently clear.

The *Arbeiterzeitung* was once one of the largest Social-Democratic newspapers in Europe. It was founded in Vienna in the beginning of the nineties last century by Victor Adler, and during

the course of decades under the brilliant editorship of Friedrich Austerlitz, a talented publicist, it was the leading organ and mirror of Austrian Social-Democracy, the model section of the pre-war and the post-war Second International. Many can recall the leading article, "The Holiday of the German People", in which the *Arbeiterzeitung* celebrated August 4, 1914, the day when the Social-Democratic fraction in the German Reichstag voted credits for the imperialist war.

It was in the *Arbeiterzeitung* that Austrian Social-Democracy pursued its policy in 1933-34, after the downfall of German Social-Democracy, a policy of conciliation with the growing fascism in Austria, a policy of unlimited concessions, a policy which avoided all struggle.

And when, in February, 1934, when Austrian fascism, growing more and more insolent, decided to deal with the Austrian working class at one blow, when the belated armed resistance of the heroic proletarian vanguard was drowned in rivers of blood, the old *Arbeiterzeitung* ingloriously left the stage.

The leaders in emigration, headed by Otto Bauer, decided to revive the publication of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, if only in the form of a modest weekly newspaper. They chose the town of Brno in Czechoslovakia in which to publish it. It was not without reason that they counted upon the hospitality of the Czechoslovakian government, in which a

number of Social-Democratic Ministers participate, and which at that time had no grounds for particularly reckoning with a weak and unfriendly Austria.

However, the lot of banishment turned out to be sufficiently bitter even for the former leaders of the one time powerful and wealthy Austrian Social-Democracy. The Czechoslovakian hosts who bore with them in their house treated them like poor relations. The *Arbeiterzeitung* had to adapt itself all round. The paper was intended for distribution in Austria itself to serve the former Social-Democrats, who were ashamed of their own name and called themselves "Revolutionary Socialists", and so the *Arbeiterzeitung* had to adopt a Left position on a number of questions. In order to keep in line with the organization of Revolutionary Socialists who had joined the united front with the Communist Party, it had to defend the united front on the whole, with the amendments it made to suit the personal line of its editor, Otto Bauer. But at the same time, since it was published in Czechoslovakia, it had to adapt itself to the political tasks of those whose hospitality it was enjoying, i.e., to the views of the Czechoslovakian Social-Democrats, who belong to the reactionary wing of the Second International and are arch enemies of the united front with the Communists.

This maneuvering might have continued for a long time yet, had not a conflict flared up suddenly between the host and the guest, which led to a premature separation. This conflict, between members of one and the same International, arose out of the immediate questions of international policy. To use

the words of the farewell communique of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, "the international situation in the Danube countries" has changed. "Austria has changed from being an object of dispute between German and Italian imperialism and become their uniting link." Having, therefore, brought about a sort of *anschluss* with Hitler Germany, the Austrian government spoke with the Czechoslovakian government in the "Berlin" language. Simultaneously the Hitler government and the Schuschnigg government demanded that the Prague government close down the German (*Neuer Voerwaerts*) and Austrian (*Arbeiterzeitung*) Social-Democratic newspapers published on the territory of the Czechoslovakian Republic.

And the Czechoslovakian Social-Democratic Ministers, following the same policy of "not vexing the beast" which Bauer and Wels had at one time pursued in their own countries, obeyed the order. Bauer and Wels were asked to "choose a more secluded lane for their walks".

The farewell article in the *Arbeiterzeitung* finished with these words:

"Today the struggle of the Austrian working class against Austrian clerico-fascism which Hitler fascism is towing in its wake acquires greater international importance, and therefore *has the right to demand the increased solidarity and support of the international proletariat and international democracy.*" [Italics in the original.—H.W.]

This totally incorrect state of affairs is a well-aimed blow at the Czechoslovakian colleagues of Bauer and Wels.

Nikos Zachariadis

ON AUGUST 4, 1936, General Metaxas, Hitler's representative, carried out a military-fascist coup d'etat in Greece and set up a terrorist dictatorship. Parliament was dispersed, all political parties were dissolved and an orgy of arrests began. Communists, Socialists, peasant leaders, liberals, in all 3,500 anti-fascists were thrown into prison or exiled to barren islands.

In September a special government statement was issued to the effect that Nikos Zachariadis, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, had fallen into the hands of the police. The government of General Metaxas celebrated the arrest of Comrade Zachariadis as a great victory, for he is the leader of the young Communist Party of Greece and, in spite of the fact that he has been forced to lead the Party illegally during the last few years, has won tremendous popularity and the affection of vast masses of the working class of Greece. Zachariadis is the initiator, the founder and organizer of the anti-fascist front, which has rallied to its banners, besides the workers, Communists and members of the revolutionary trade unions, working class organizations of all tendencies, peasant organizations, the organized artisans and small traders, and broad sections of the intellectuals.

When the comrade of Zachariadis, Comrade Sklavenos, delivered a long speech in the Greek parliament at the end of April, 1936, on the subject of the declaration of Metaxas, who was then chief of the "constitutional" government, among the demands put forward by him and accepted by a parliamentary majority, was one for amnesty for political

prisoners. And Comrade Sklavenos insisted most emphatically upon immediate amnesty for Nikos Zachariadis, the leader of the Communist Party, sentenced to many years of hard labor ten years ago on a false accusation of having murdered a Trotskyist provocateur, who took part in an assault of an armed band upon the editorial offices of the Communist Party newspaper.

In October, 1936, Comrade Zachariadis was sentenced to four and one half years imprisonment for belonging to the Communist Party. But this was not enough for the bloody dictatorship of Greece. A new trial has been opened against Comrade Zachariadis, who is sitting in chains in solitary confinement; the old provocative accusation of murder has been brought against him. The prosecution is demanding the death sentence.

* * *

Comrade Nikos Zachariadis was born in 1903 in the family of a tobacco worker. He finished elementary school and went to high school, but after one year there, when he was fourteen, for lack of the means of studying, he left school and went to work in the same factory as his father.

In 1919 Zachariadis moved to the town and worked first as a tailor's hand, and then a sailor (until 1923). He joined the seamen's union in 1921, and took part in the strikes of the seamen. In the same year he joined the Y.C.L., organized and educated the young workers, and displayed excellent qualities. In 1923 he was already a member of the Communist Party of Greece, and actively participated in all the struggles of the Party

for the emancipation of the working people.

In 1925 Zachariadis was arrested and accused of treason because he defended the question of equal rights of the national minorities which compose the Greek state, at a meeting in Salonica.

During the military-fascist dictatorship of Pangalos in 1925-26 Zachariadis, while in Salonica and later in Pyrea, worked ardently among the workers and even among different sections of the toilers and democratically inclined masses, for the overthrow of the dictatorship of General Pangalos.

The role he played was extremely great also after the fall of the Pangalos dictatorship, when the militarists wanted to send their forces against the republic in order once more to set up a fascist dictatorship. At that time, Comrade Zachariadis marched in the front ranks of the tremendous demonstration of the people in Athens (over 300,000); he led them, spoke at meetings, took a lively part in disarming the gendarmes and soldiers and seizing an armored car.

Up to 1920 he participated actively in all the mass activities of the toilers of Athens, Pyrea, and Salonica. He did not refuse any work. He distributed proclamations, and organized and led strikes.

Comrade Zachariadis was arrested a number of times; nine times he was arrested, five times he escaped; and he spent two years in all in prison. Because of his active work and the prominent role he played in the working class and popular movement, the police were anxious to get rid of him; consequently, in 1926 they accused him of a crime, the murder of a provocateur, which they alleged he committed during the assault upon the editorial offices of the Communist Party newspaper, the *Rizospastis*.

In spite of police persecutions, Comrade Zachariadis never relinquished his work, but continued his work to emancipate the people, all the time illegally. During this period he was arrested three times, but each time managed to evade

the police, and each time, with increasing energy and experience, he continued the work to which he had devoted himself.

His fruitful work promoted him to leading posts. After long years of Party work he was elected General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, and at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern he was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

He played an exclusive role in forming the united front and bringing about trade union unity among the working class.

At the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Greece, which took place in December, 1935, Comrade Zachariadis delivered a long speech which was published in *The Communist International*.

Under the leadership of Comrade Zachariadis, the Communist Party conducted a consistent struggle against the fascization of Greece. During the parliamentary elections in January of this year, the People's Front headed by the Communist Party obtained considerable success: the People's Front obtained fifteen seats while the present dictator, General Metaxas, obtained only five. Agreement was obtained under the leadership of Zachariadis between the Liberals and the Parliamentary fraction of the bloc set up among the Communists, the Agrarians, the United General Confederation of Labor and other local organizations. The agreement aimed at reinforcing the democratizing liberties of the people.

In May, 1936, under the leadership of Comrade Zachariadis, a tremendous general strike of protest against the shooting of a demonstration of tobacco workers on strike in Salonica took place; the demonstration united in one outburst of solidarity half a million workers and petty-bourgeois toilers in all towns of Greece. Under his leadership, a nucleus of the People's Front was formed out of the Communist Party and the Agrarian Party (Sefianopustos), around which broad sections of anti-fascists began to

rally. At his initiative, the Communist Party put forward the slogan of collaboration among all non-fascist political parties for struggle against the Metaxas government even before the August 4 coup d'etat.

The Metaxas government knows the value and importance of this man, and is consequently preparing to murder him foully.

Only the wave of indignation of the Greek people and international protests can wrench Comrade Zachariadis from the hands of the butchers.

* * *

FROM THE REPORT DELIVERED
BY COMRADE ZACHARIADIS AT
THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE.

December, 1935

Communists are real politicians. They are not dreamers, but realists, political fighters, always basing themselves upon a correct estimate and profound knowledge of actualities.

Greece is faced with a dilemma: either to go to the Right, to fascist dictatorship, or to turn resolutely to sovereignty of the people with the prospect of an all-around blossoming of the Greek people...

Our Party has set itself the central task of barring the way against fascism and reaction... with all the means... at our disposal.

Fascism, however, is not yet crushed. We have not succeeded in barring the way against it once and for all... There are some who consider that fascism in Greece was conquered after the fall of the Kondyllis dictatorship. It is true that fascism has suffered a number of defeats in Greece... However, all this does not give us the right to say that we have finished with fascism in Greece, to assert this would be a big mistake.

First of all, the restoration of the monarchy is creating the necessary factors for the development and reinforcement of reaction and fascism. Business

circles, close to Kondyllis [and after the death of Kondyllis in January, 1936, his role passed over to the present dictator, Metaxas—Ed.], having rallied to themselves the terrorist elements and arch-reactionary officers, are also working in this direction... .

We must explain to the masses of the people, we must prove to them convincingly, that we are not only unmasking fascism and its crimes against the people, we are not only fighting against the foul intentions of fascism, but that we can, already today, save the country from heavy calamities.

Our Party is becoming a big, mass Party, and we are already a serious political factor. Everything we say reaches the very heart of the people. We must show the masses that a fine, cultured life can be built up in Greece, that conditions are already ripe for the creation of a democratic government of the people.

A government of this kind, based on all the parties of popular democracy, on the will of the people, on democratic organizations, could adopt measures which would definitely turn our country from one of decline into one of prosperity... .

A government of this kind would resolutely establish democratic liberties and crush all the attempts of reaction to raise its head, and so, on the basis of this program, would take the road which would lead to the final democratic reformation of Greece... .

We are indebted for our success to the fact that the Communist Party, acting in the spirit of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, has effectively pursued the line of the Communist International. We have the broadest possible opportunities before us. Only we, the Communists, by rallying together in a united front with all honest, progressive, democratic forces, can save the country from the danger of a barbarous fascist regime, from a foreign yoke, and bring it on to the broad road of emancipation and well-being of the people.

Before the Presidential Elections in Finland

By H. HYAKINEN

ON JANUARY 16, 1937, the election of presidential electors will take place in Finland. In February these electors will choose their new president for the coming six years. The presidential elections are of special significance, since they are a component part of the struggle between democracy and fascism.

Fascist tendencies have made themselves strongly felt in the state regime of Finland ever since the campaign of the Lappoists (Finnish fascists) in 1930, although no "totalitarian" terrorist regime of the Hitler type has yet been established. During the last few years, democracy in Finland has been under constant attacks from fascism, while democracy has defended itself most feebly. The working class has had to bear the whole burden of the anti-fascist struggle alone. The bourgeois-democratic elements have for the most part pursued the policy of the ostrich, burying their heads in the sand, and in a number of cases their "democratic methods" have been of direct aid to fascist reaction.

The parliamentary elections in the summer of 1936 and the change in the government at the end of September illustrate, however, a certain change in the relation of forces in favor of bourgeois democracy. The fascist offensive has weakened somewhat at the present moment, thanks to the fact that the forces of democracy have begun to rally together to resist fascism.

The fall of the Kiwimyaki government, which had been in power for four years, was a partial success for democracy. The Kiwimyaki government was a reactionary government with fascist tendencies, though not a fascist government. It pursued a line which was systematically contrary to the interests of democracy; through a number of fascist laws, emergency decrees, regulations and other measures; through the banning of all Communist organizations, the persecution of a number of Social-Democratic organizations, mass arrests, etc. The remnants of bourgeois democracy still remain in Finland, in spite of this. The Social-Democratic and other parties, with the exception of the Communist Party, have not been dissolved; there exists a parliament, elected on the basis of general elections, in which "only" the Communists are prevented from taking part. The party of Finnish Hitlerites, the I.K.I. ("native people's movement"), the new name of the Lappoists, continues to act as the opposition party (a few years ago it even organized an unsuccessful putsch).

Nevertheless, the Kiwimyaki government, despite the fact that its Prime Minister belonged to the "Progressivist" Party (the Right wing of this party), was actually the most reactionary of all the governments which have existed in Finland since 1918. The government relied upon President Swinhuwud, an arch-reactionary, and upon the reactionary representatives of the different parties

in parliament, and it also made use of the cowardice of the bourgeois-democratic opposition and the fact that its forces were divided.

The fundamental line of the economic policy of the Kiwimyaki government consisted in its increased desire to help Finnish capitalism to crawl out of the state of crisis and depression and, what is more, exclusively at the expense of the working masses. For the purpose of maintaining the sharply reduced level of wages, an army of unemployed, 100,000 strong, was left without any assistance from the state. True, some of the unemployed were despatched to public works, but for wages which were 25 per cent lower than the established average rates of unskilled workers. And when the owners reduced wages to the level of those rates fixed for public works, the latter rates were again automatically reduced by 25 per cent. Thus, the "assistance for the unemployed" served as a means also for reduction in wages.

During strikes the police of Kiwimyaki arrested the strike committees, and handed the men over to the courts "for violating peace in industry". The government drew up a bill to prohibit strikes completely. The position of the peasantry is most clearly illustrated by the fact that over 20,000 peasant families have been driven from their land, as a result of indebtedness and the auctioning of their property.

In the sphere of home affairs, the Kiwimyaki government has been continually restricting the democratic rights of the people. Not another government in Finland has ever published such a large number of emergency decrees. It came to such a pass that a number of bourgeois journalists were sentenced to terms of imprisonment on the basis of emergency decrees (including two editors of the central organ of the Agrarian Party). The banners of the Social-Democratic Party and the singing of the "Internationale" were prohibited; meetings of bourgeois pacifists were banned and their organizations persecuted. The "democ-

racy" of Kiwimyaki began in many respects to resemble a fascist regime.

This line in home politics was supplemented by a Hitlerophile foreign policy. Only in 1918, when the German imperialist troops occupied Finland and Finnish policy was guided by the whip of General von der Holtz, was the influence of German imperialism greater in Finland than it has been during the period of rule by Kiwimyaki.

Of course, this policy did not coincide with the feelings and the will of the Finnish people. It could only lead to the establishment of a full-fledged fascist regime, against which the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party (November, 1935), most persistently warned the masses of the working people.

In the struggle against this policy, the influence of the C.P. of Finland increased considerably after the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. The Communists took an active part in every partial struggle against the fascist emergency decrees and other fascist measures adopted by the government. The Communists became the foremost unit in the strike struggles of the working class. In the trade union movement the Communists worked side by side with the Social-Democratic workers. At the parliamentary elections in July 1-2, 1936, in view of the danger of fascism, the Communist Party of Finland, an illegal party unable to put forward its own list of candidates, called upon all its supporters to give their votes to the Left Social-Democratic candidates.

In consequence of all the outrages of the Kiwimyaki government, the influence of the Progressivist Party fell to such a degree at these elections that it obtained only seven places in parliament out of 200. At the same time, the Social-Democratic Party, with the support of the Communists, won a considerable victory, obtaining 83 seats, which included five new ones. After such a defeat the government, according to parliamentary rulings, should have resigned. But Kiwimyaki had no intention of doing so.

Neither did he consider it necessary to afford to the new parliament, when it opened, the usual programmatic declaration of the government. Thus he insolently demonstrated the intention of the government completely to ignore parliament and the will of the broad masses of the people as expressed at the elections. Kiwimyaki wanted to rule as hitherto, relying solely upon the President.

The fact that the government insultingly ignored parliament still further increased the dissatisfaction felt toward it, even among those timid elements whom Kiwimyaki had previously been able to scare by bringing his fist down on the table. The eyes of many were opened when they saw that the "democracy" of Kiwimyaki was approaching the regime of a fascist "totalitarian" dictatorship. The parties whose existence depended upon the support of the petty bourgeoisie—the Agrarian Party, the Progressivists, the Swedish Party—realized that they might lose their supporters if they continued in the future to connive with the Kiwimyaki government and give it their support. The democratic elements in these bourgeois parties gradually became persuaded that it was essential, if only to a small degree, to fight against the continuing fascization of the country. The growth of the Left wing of the Social-Democratic Party and the trade unions forced the Social-Democratic Party as well to take a more definite line of opposition against the government.

It was the behavior, however, of the secret political police, the most loyal bulwark of the government, which was the last straw as far as the democratic elements in the bourgeois parties were concerned. The secret police hurled insult after insult at all non-fascists. In September, "by mistake", as it transpired afterward, the secret police handed over to the Helsingfors Court its "dossier" concerning the trial against the "League of Rights of Man". The Prime Minister Kiwimyaki himself had demanded the dissolution of this organization founded

by bourgeois scientists, writers, pacifists and a number of Social-Democratic officials, which he referred to as a "Communist" organization.

In the opinion of the "progressive" Kiwimyaki, the struggle against the legislation proposed by his government for the introduction of the death sentence, and for the defense of freedom of speech, the demand for an amnesty for political prisoners (of whom, according to the statistics of the League of Nations, the number is relatively more than in Germany, Austria and Poland), all demands of this kind which the League of Rights of Man could put forward on the basis of its program, are "downright Communism". In the opinion of Kiwimyaki, the four professors, six members of parliament, six writers, eight doctors, judges and other well-educated people who stand at the head of the League, together with its twenty bourgeois and eight Social-Democratic board members, are downright "agents of Moscow". And so, the League is liable to dissolution.

It appears that the political police were of the same opinion concerning the League of Rights of Man as the Prime Minister, since all the demands put forward by the League were in contradiction to the policy of the reactionaries. And once there had been talk about agents of Moscow, the political police decided to discover the whole "plot" against the safety of the Finnish state. This plot, brought about by the "movement of the united and people's front", was brought into being by the report of Comrade Dimitroff to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in Moscow—according to the political police. The secret police in its secret report made the statement that in Finland the upward swing of the united front movement was expressed, in particular, in the fact that

"... after the Communist Party of Finland, in the beginning of 1935, gave up its attempts to create an illegal mass trade union movement and proposed to all Communists, and in general to all Left elements, that they should join the

Social-Democratic S.A.K. [trade union organization], the membership of this organization grew rapidly. On the eve of 1934 the membership was less than 20,000, and by the end of 1935 it had increased approximately to 35,000.*

"This increase must, without doubt, be put down chiefly to the fact that the Communists affiliated to the S.A.K. The Communists have even penetrated into the leadership of a number of trade union organizations."

It is without doubt an awful state of affairs when the membership of the trade unions increases by over 250 per cent! The number of strikes also rapidly rose. The trade unions fought energetically against the fascist draft legislation of the government; against the banning of strikes, against the introduction of the death sentence, against the establishment of the "Economic Council" recommended by the fascists.

However, something still worse happened. The secret police gave information to the effect that a "people's front movement" had also begun to grow up in Finland, which "was trying to obtain unity of action with the Left elements from among the bourgeoisie":

"Inside this movement, the fact should be regarded as of tremendous danger that, in view of its open character, it gives the Communist elements much wider opportunities for agitation and activity than they have had recently in their own insignificant illegal organizations."

And so, although this movement is going forward openly, the detectives of the secret political police nevertheless watched it and reported to Monsieur Kiwimyaki. This dangerous movement already has a broad organizational network and its own press (four magazines are mentioned). Besides the League of Rights of Man, the People's Front, as far as the police are aware, holds the in-

terest of all pacifist organizations in the country, two student unions (the Social-Democratic and Liberal), a number of author's organizations, three whole peasant parties, one kinematograph company, one workers' theater, and, horror of horrors, the bourgeois union of Young Republicans, composed of members of the Progressivist Party, the party of Monsieur Kiwimyaki himself!

The secret police did not fail to produce "proofs" of the criminal activities of all these organizations of the People's Front. Some of them were against the war danger, others demanded freedom of speech. These wanted to fight against fascism, and the others "considered it especially important to maintain freedom of speech, press and research activities". There were 120,000 signatures collected below a protest against the introduction of the death sentence which was handed to parliament. The Young Republican union "wants to establish and imbue the principle of social justice in all sections of the people", and "to refresh general political thinking in a spirit which will favor the growth of culture"; "demands the abolition of the emergency decrees, demands an opportunity within the framework of the Republican Constitution for all to influence public opinion and state power, demands the banning of political leagues organized on military lines", etc.

The liberal student union even goes so far as to demand "good relations with neighboring countries", without thinking that one of the neighbors of Finland is the Soviet Union, which must only be talked about with gnashing of teeth; this is what we find in the report of the secret police. The newspaper of this union, moreover, declares that it is in favor of "the social and rational methods of thought, social justice and literature and art closely connected with realities".

It is clear that from the viewpoint of the secret police all this is nothing but a plot on the part of Moscow Communists. For can any "decent" person in Finland strive after safeguarding freedom of

* The membership of the S.A.K. has now reached 50,000!

speech, press and research, the "revival of general political thought in a spirit favorable to the growth of culture"? And good relations with neighboring countries—why, that is obviously a Moscow slogan! That is literally copied from the speech of Litvinov!

Thus, the secret political police tried to prove that all those who adhere to such a line of thought must be either Communists or "auxiliaries of the Moscow Communists".

But, speaking seriously, the organizations mentioned by the police really have something in common. These are all non-fascist organizations. The majority of them are even prepared in their own way to fight against fascism. And that is their whole crime. And the secret police, which works directly in the service of the Lappoists, branded all elements who are of no use to the fascists as agents of Moscow; this has been used in Finland before to force the democratic opposition into silence. Prime Minister Kiwimyaki kept this secret document drawn up by his police "experts" in his pocket. But it was published prematurely and by accident in the press. The "dossier of the experts" was to have been a bomb thrown at the right moment against the democratic elements in the country, a weapon to scare the opponents of fascism (in particular those in the ranks of the government party), and something to raise the wobbling authority of the Kiwimyaki government. But the weapon turned into a boomerang, which flew back and hit the government and its guards in the head.

In order to increase the effect, all the officials of the organizations mentioned in this police report were mentioned by name. The country discovered that not only its most prominent professors, its best writers (led by Sillanpaa, who was the closest competitor for the premium when the Nobel Prize was awarded in 1936), numerous members of parliament, editors and other leaders of the Agrarian Party, the Progressivist Party and the Swedish Party were among the number

of the Communist Party's supporters, but also the Minister of Agriculture of the Kiwimyaki government and the wife of the Minister of Public Works were also among the Communist supporters. The political police, when pressed, finally declared that the document had been ordered by Prime Minister Kiwimyaki himself, and that it had already been used even as material for the "Schutzkor" courses. But the document was not shown to the Minister of Agriculture. It is understandable that respectable bourgeois non-fascist circles were offended and indignant. Even the organ of the government Progressivist Party spoke of the secret police as being an "abscess" which must be lanced. It stands to reason that not a word is mentioned in this newspaper about the numerous crimes of the secret police committed against leaders of the working class movement, for example, of the secret murder of witnesses in the case of Comrade Antikainen, Lidya Rask and Lauti Lagerbum, etc.

And all the same the government never thought of resigning; it confidently came before Parliament for the purpose of defending its three arch-reactionary bills, which aimed at restricting democracy. According to these bills, any anti-fascist could be accused of treason and sentenced to the most severe punishment. Further, the government proposed that all rights of political prisoners should be withdrawn from persons condemned under these laws. But the indignation of the people made itself so strongly felt that this time some of the bourgeois members voted against this legislation. Thus at one and the same Parliamentary session, a vote of non-confidence was passed against the government, three times. Only then did M. Kiwimyaki resign, although the President, against the Constitution, proposed to the government that it remain in office.

Without doubt, the overthrow of the Kiwimyaki government was a success for the anti-fascist movement. But Swinhuwud, the President, was successful in reducing considerably even this partial

success of the democratic forces. Swinhuwud refused to accept any government enjoying the confidence of the Parliamentary majority, if representatives of Social-Democracy took part in it, or if such a government relied on Social-Democracy. Moreover, the President demanded that representatives of the fascist coalition party be included in the government. And this was done: a government was composed of representatives of the Agrarian, the Coalition and the Progressivist Parties. The democratic elements in the different political parties still have so little confidence in their own power that they either supported the new government composed by the President or silently accepted it. The Social-Democratic Party also behaved in this way, although the undemocratic and anti-constitutional methods of the President were directed in particular against that party.

The Parliamentary majority nevertheless appointed a special commission to investigate the methods of work of the secret political police, and rejected the legislation by which it was intended to convert the political police into a permanent state institution. But both these decisions were only in the nature of a demonstration. The composition of the investigating commission was such that any really practical result can hardly be expected from it. And if the intention to convert the secret police into a permanent state institute has fallen through, it must be remembered that this "state within the state" has been feeling itself all right for 18 years already as an emergency state institution. Nevertheless, the attitude of the parliamentary majority toward the political police is a sign of a certain degree of activation among the democratic forces.

If the parliamentary majority has managed to swallow a pill like the new Kallio coalition government, in which representatives of the famous Coalition Party are in possession of the portfolios of the Ministers of War and Home Af-

fairs, the explanation is that some of the Ministers of the new government are known to be opponents of the Lappoists. For example, the Minister of Transport and Public Works, Ladensui, a man, generally speaking, of a conservative turn of mind, has hardly yet forgotten how the Lappoists in his time tried to remove him by force, and how he was able to save himself only by armed resistance. Haksel, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is friendly toward Hitler, has not joined the new government. Thus, if the new government is carefully examined, it is probable that it will be found to be a tiny bit more Left than the Kiwimyaki government although, according to the demand of the President, the former Minister of Home Affairs, Puhakka, has remained at his post.

The second reason why the new government did not meet with resistance from Parliament, in spite of the way in which it was appointed, is that the anti-Lappoist elements hope to elect a new President instead of Swinhuwud, at the forthcoming February elections. They are counting upon the fact that if the President is changed the country will have a new parliamentary government, and that the present government will, therefore, be only a temporary one. This feeling shows once more the extent to which the bourgeois democrats (and Right Social-Democrats) fear even their own shadows. Precisely in connection with the presidential elections it was important to offer determined resistance to any violation of the Constitution on the part of the President.

If Parliament, or at least some parliamentary groups had lifted the gage thrown down by the President against democratic rulings, it would have shown the broad masses of the people better than many months of agitation (which, moreover, has now to be conducted in an atmosphere of Kiwimyaki's emergency decrees) the great significance of the forthcoming presidential elections; it would have persuaded the masses that

the elections must be a serious battle between the forces of fascism and of democracy.

The Communist Party of Finland has raised this question with full clarity. It points out that the presidential elections play an extremely important role this time in the destiny of Finland. During the term of office of the new President tremendous events may occur. The danger of fascism in Finland is so great, and the Finnish fascists so increasingly urge forward and encourage Hitler fascism, that a new attempt at a fascist coup d'etat may be on the order of the day very soon. The policy of military provocation pursued by the fascist countries has led to such tense relations in the international field that there may be a fresh outbreak of world war at any moment, if the peace-loving peoples are not successful in averting such an outbreak.

In this situation, the question as to who will hold the reins of power as President of the Finnish state, which exceeds the power of the majority of the kings, is of tremendous importance. A representative of reaction, a president of the Swinhuwud type or like the White-Guard general Mannerheim, can bring the country and the people to ruin, can afford every kind of assistance to fascist putschists and bring infinite harm to the Finnish people. With the support of a reactionary president, the capitalists of the export industry and the banker jackals could increase still further the regime of unrestrained exploitation of the workers and peasants of our land.

Consequently, the Communist Party of Finland has called upon all working people to strain every effort to prevent the election of a reactionary president. To this end, we must give our support to candidates who will, even to some small extent, hinder the plans of the fascists. One of these candidates, already mentioned by the general public, is Vaino Tanner, the leader of the Social-Democratic Party, and the other, Stolberg, the

former president, whom the Lappoists kidnapped from Helsingfors in 1930 and carried away to the Eastern borders of Finland.

The Communist Party of Finland knows full well that the revolutionary workers will only with great unwillingness support the election of Tanner, a Right Social-Democrat, whose policy is directed against the interests of the working class and who constantly resists the efforts of the Communist Party of Finland to obtain unity among all the forces of the working people for a struggle against fascism. But even Tanner, with his Right Social-Democratic policy, cannot fail to come into conflict with the Coalition Party, with the Lappoists, who want to abolish the Social-Democratic Party as well. The Communist Party calls upon all workers to take part in the presidential elections and, with a view to crushing fascist reaction, to vote for those electors who will be ready to choose Tanner or a bourgeois democrat. It is clear that any boycott of the forthcoming presidential elections on the part of the workers will play into the hands of reaction and will aid not the anti-fascist struggle but fascism.

Among the candidates and electors even of those parties which support the candidature of a supporter of bourgeois democracy, there are people upon whom we cannot rely, especially at a time when terrorist pressure will be used against them by the fascists. A clear example of this was to be seen during the presidential elections in 1930. Then, the Agrarian Party was in favor of the candidature of Stolberg, during the election campaign, but when the time came for the president to be elected, the electors were scared by the threats of a crowd of Lappoists and voted for the candidate of the Lappoists, Swinhuwud, who was consequently elected president. The fascist bourgeoisie are still now not against repeating this violence against the electors. Therefore it is extremely important for people to be chosen as electors who

will be sufficiently firm and courageous, who will not be checked by fascist threats.

This is why the Communist Party of Finland calls upon all working people to be especially vigilant during the elections, so that their votes will be cast with a view to choosing electors who will on no account, not for any threats, not for any persuasion, either directly or indirectly help the election to the presidency of Swinhuwud, Mannerheim or any other representative of fascist reaction.

The revolutionary workers even now, before the presidential elections, are seeking to rally together all the anti-fascist forces against fascist reaction. The democratic elements in the different parties are drawing conclusions from the

events which have recently taken place, and first and foremost the conclusion that they can only defend their cause by fighting. Those who quietly reconcile themselves to the successes of fascist reaction will one fine day awaken "in a concentration camp on the shores of the Arctic, collecting bird droppings", as Simoyoki, the fascist priest and deputy, has already warned the bourgeois democrats.

The revolutionary workers of our country will do everything during the presidential elections as well to paralyze the plans of the fascists. They are fully aware that in this way they are fighting for the well-being and progress of their own class as well as of the whole of the Finnish people.

Reporter in Spain

WHEN the history is read of the courageous fight of the Spanish people in defense of the Spanish Republic and world democracy, one little book written in the heat of the struggle by an experienced English journalist will stand out as a beacon throwing light upon the heroism and resourcefulness of the Spanish workers and their allies.* It will serve as yet another proof of the enormity of the betrayal of those in the labor and trade union movement of the world who, while expressing their sympathy with the Spanish people in platonic resolutions, in practice are sabotaging any effective aid for their struggle. It will be a damning indictment against the so-called democratic governments of Europe, who were satisfied to leave the Spanish Republic bleeding, the lawfully-elected Spanish government unaided, while giving virtual support to the intervention of the fascist governments of Europe.

Frank Pitcairn, who has been in Spain ever since the events first began, wrote his book in the intervals between visiting the different fronts and traveling between Spain and the rest of Europe, soliciting help for Spain. It is a kaleidoscope of the events of the Spanish war. But let the book speak for itself.

"Looking back, it would appear obvious that the situation of the men and women who rushed out . . . to defend themselves and their towns against the army attack, was quite hopeless. . . . The officers who planned the betrayal of

Spain thought . . . they would have a walkover. . . . They had . . . no remote notion of the heights of courage and tenacity of which the people, once united in defense of democracy and the most elementary rights of humanity, is capable. . . . I came out that Sunday morning . . . and saw tense-faced boys and girls, clutching miserable old weapons . . . advancing slowly but unwaveringly up the pavements against a towering red brick church . . . from which a machine gun and a score or more of modern army rifles cracked and spat continuously . . . a boy fell over suddenly on the pavement . . . a girl bent hurriedly over him. . . . She took the Republican emblem from her arm and gave it to him and he kissed it and so died. . . . It did not occur to me then that the boy who died under a priest's rifle in Hospital Street was shortly to be accused in the British reactionary press of 'an outrageous attack on a church'."

And another example of the heroism of the people:

"A worn peasant woman stood on her doorstep, her arms folded under her heavy breasts. . . . The smell of the earth floated strongly into the street. Of the fifty men from that village serving with the column against Saragossa, nine were her sons. She said: 'They may die. We may all die. Yet fascism shall not come to Catalonia.'"

"I could think of nothing to say, nothing to ask her or anything. . . ."

Even in the midst of the fighting, the minds of the men were thrashing out problems, trying to understand, to explain. The author's chauffeur held forth,

* *Reporter in Spain*, by Frank Pitcairn, with a preface by Ralph Bates. Lawrence and Wishart, 1936.

while driving through the rocky plateau above Fraga:

"If this country had water, it would be one of the richest countries in the world. . . . If you ask me, I think that's what the war is about. You see, it stands to reason. You have the elections. . . . The people win for the first time . . . the people want water. . . . If the people are in power, they can get the water and cut out all these people who line their pockets with the water money, can't they? . . . Are they going to stand for that . . . the priests and the big bosses? Of course they aren't. All right, and so here is this war."

And again, when Red Cross hospitals had been bombed, and the Spanish fighters could see no sign of help from certain British trade union leaders, the better-informed ones inevitably harbored thoughts like that of the militiaman who said, while his car, carrying Pitcairn, left the road scattered with the bits of the Red Cross that had been painted hugely across the roof:

"I suppose if your Citrine could see this, it would alter his ideas a bit!"

That was the day when the *Daily Herald* arrived, with quotations from Sir Walter Citrine suavely suggesting "that the 'neutrality' policy was the best that could be done."

Not without humor Pitcairn writes of the insolence of Madrid society women in the following description of the treatment of the Madrid women prisoners by the government troops:

"On a large pleasant balcony running along the back of the building were a number of other political prisoners, most of them wealthy women, found engaged in anti-Republican activity or concealing arms for fascists in their bedrooms. . . . The balcony reminded one more than anything else of the sun deck of a liner. Well-dressed women, wearing gold wrist watches and other valuables were chatting, reading, rubbing their faces or legs with cold cream or adjusting their hair. . . . In a room . . . sat the daughter of a

fascist marchioness . . . the marchioness herself . . . and the third daughter . . . who jumped up when we came in, complaining that her sister had a cold and could not the militia do something about it."

It is interesting, in comparison with the above, to take the following episode dealing with the foul acts of the fascists and their mercenaries:

"I saw a peasant burst into tears in Villafranca as he tried to tell the story of what happened when the fascists marched in there and occupied it for days before they were driven out by the avenging dynamiters from Pennaryya . . . their troops were Moors and Legionnaires. The local peasant leader ordered all able-bodied men to take to the mountain slopes and conduct guerilla warfare. Bitter but disciplined . . . the men said goodbye to their families. . . . The only able-bodied man found in the village was 22-year-old Pedro Garcia, who refused to leave because he had a father aged 91 and a mother 89, and he feared they might be neglected. . . . Captain Munios . . . ordered his arrest. . . . They brought the two old people down to where their son was standing against a wall. Then they shot the boy before the eyes of his parents. Afterwards Moors and Legionnaires went up and down the street, shooting old men, women and children."

But even when captured, the Spanish Republican fighters display extreme resourcefulness and heroism in their attempts to serve their Republic and the people to the last:

"In the dusk of an August evening, Miguel was walking from his home to a cafe. . . . A carful of men in militia uniforms drove up and demanded his papers. He produced them: militia card, trade union card, party card, all in order. . . . The leader of the militia . . . declared he was unsatisfied. Annoyed but philosophical, reflecting that it was better that the boys should be a little too strict and fussy than too slack, he hoisted himself into the back of the car. . . . The 'militiamen' were now talking quite openly among themselves, and their re-

marks left no doubt that Miguel had stepped straight into a carful of disguised fascist gunmen.

"Miguel sat still and thought . . . perhaps there is still one more thing I can do for the Republic before I die. . . . So it happened that a carful of genuine militiamen, patrolling, saw a carful of apparent militiamen driving fast toward it, saw a figure rise suddenly in the back seat, saw an arm raised in the fascist salute, and heard a great voice shouting 'Down with Democracy! Up with Fascism! Down with the Republican Government!' Before any of the fascists had even time to fire, a shower of bullets had sprayed them, and they lay amid the wreckage of their car. The patrol car stopped, and two men came over to investigate . . . the fifth man in the car was still alive and in his pockets they were astonished to find a militia card, a trade union card and a membership card of the Communist Party all perfectly in order. . . . They propped Miguel on the side of the road, and he told them the story as I have told it, and died. . . ."

But the horrors of warfare lie heavy on the author, and he describes the awakening of the Spanish fighters and himself to the horrible truth that this mutiny is actually German and Italian fascist intervention:

"One night the little sergeant . . . crawled puffing and carefully through the boulders . . . to the ledge where I squatted on guard. . . . He handed me a stoutish twig. . . . He explained that next time the bombers came over I had to put the twig between my teeth and hold it there, at the same time gripping my head between my hands and lying flat. . . . I said I was no acrobat. He laughed: 'All the same', he said, 'this is serious. You see they've got new airplanes—Germans—and new bombs—Germans, too. The old bombs were nothing. . . . These new ones are different. High explosives. They drop . . . you get a shock that is liable to send you off your chump—shellshock!' We were soon to learn just how much

water had passed under the international bridges from the days of at least relatively equal combat to this day of mid-September when thousands of men found themselves facing with rifles and not too much ammunition, the attack of a full fleet of the newest bombing planes in the world."

And again:

"As my guard duty was coming to an end, I saw the first evidence of the effects of the German bombardment. . . . Slowly up the hill . . . came three of our men, their faces blackened with the bombardment, two of them with blood oozing through dirty handkerchiefs . . . and carrying between them a fourth man. . . . I saw that the bottom of his face had been literally blown off, and that, as his body sagged between the bearers, blood oozed horribly from the small of his back. . . . When they reached us, we saw that the man they were carrying was already dead. . . . They were all dazed, one of them said: 'But what are our planes doing?'"

"We all knew that until London and Paris lifted their ban we should get no succor from those few gallant loyal air-men who, outnumbered twelve to one by the German junkers, were putting up an heroic and desperate fight on a half-dozen fronts at once."

Since September much time has passed, and although the democratic governments of the world continue with their hypocritical policy of "non-intervention", that is, blockade, in support of General Franco and the German and Italian and Portuguese fascists, the combined efforts of the class conscious workers of the world, to whom the democracy of the world is dear, and the help which the workers of the Soviet Union are constantly sending to Spain, will help to secure the final victory of the heroic Spanish people in their struggle for peace, for freedom, and the right to live in their own democratically ruled country.

Spain and France

BY T. M.

JEAN-RICHARD BLOCH is a famous French writer, closely connected with the People's Front. He knows Spain, and had been there on several occasions before the fascist rebellion.

In July and August Bloch made a journey through Spain. He visited Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid, talked with the leading politicians of the Spanish Republic and with ordinary working people; he was a witness of how the Spanish people, caught unawares by the treacherous action of the fascists, quickly formed themselves into fighting order prepared to defend the freedom and independence of their country in organized fashion.

Bloch's book *Spain, Spain!*, which appeared recently, is not merely a description of what he has seen.* It is the book of a militant publicist appealing to the French people; its aim is to obtain effective support for Republican Spain from the population and government of France.

Bloch describes events and analyzes them. If we leave aside those parts of his book which are either naive or open to dispute (for instance, his somewhat incorrect observations on the possibility of a Franco-German rapprochement),

his book gives a *pointed estimate* of the international alignment of forces in relation to the Spanish events and, in particular, the tremendous responsibility which lies upon France.

Bloch reproduces the words spoken to him by Azaña, the President of the Spanish Republic:

"Tell your rulers, Monsieur Bloch, tell French public opinion, that the defeat of the People's Front in Spain would mean not only the defeat of French democracy. . . ."

And he adds, continuing Azaña's thought:

"The defeat of the People's Front in Spain would mean the defeat of the Republic in France, and, probably, the end of France as a great independent nation."

This is the central thought in Bloch's book, one of the chapters of which bears the title "Prevent France's Suicide!"

Appealing to the French feeling of national pride, Bloch draws a picture of the future military and foreign political consequences for France, if the fascist rebels and interventionists are victorious in Spain:

"To sum up: this will mean that on the Pyrenees and at the gates of Morocco and Algiers, a militarist and imperialist state will arise within the orbit of fascism. This will mean control over our relations with North Africa. This will mean the necessity of hurriedly fortifying our southern frontier, which has never been fortified since the time of

* *Espagne, Espagne*, by Jean-Richard Bloch. Editions Sociales Internationales. Paris, 1936. 268 pages.

Vauban, and the necessity of withdrawing from the Alpine and Rhine frontiers a number of army divisions. This will mean that Spain, in the event of conflict, will be a jumping-off ground for fleets of bombers. This will mean the whole of the South of France, laid bare, and, at best, cruelly exposed. . . . " (p. 187.)

In order to avoid these consequences, Bloch demands the cessation of the suicidal policy of neutrality. He warmly welcomes the opposition of the U.S.S.R. to the non-intervention comedy. "Must we hide the fact", says he, "that this initial step of the Soviets has brought indescribable relief to millions of people throughout the world?" He describes the declaration of the representatives of the U.S.S.R. in the London Committee as characteristic "words of sincerity, words of courage."

Bloch stresses time after time that those who are against France giving effective aid to Spain are not only enemies of the French working people, but also enemies of the French people, direct allies of Hitler fascism. "The center of crystallization of French conservatism, its new Versailles, its new Coblenz, let us call it, is Berlin." French fascists, like the Spanish fascists, are traitors of the people.

Describing his journey through Spain, Bloch pictures the heroic side of the people who have united to resist fascism.

He gives episodes of the fighting against the fascist rebels in Valencia, for example. It was during the first days of the rebellion, in the barracks of the Sapper Regiment in Paterna, a few kilometers from the towns:

"The day before yesterday, some of the officers of this regiment declared themselves against the Republic, gave orders for the gates of the barracks to be closed, and tried to win over the soldiers. The latter hesitated. The rebels became threatening. Then the sergeant, Juan Fabra, who had been in the service for fourteen years and a sergeant for ten years, took refuge in the armory and

with a number of comrades took possession of the machine-gun and began shooting. The rebels who were left alive surrendered, the soldiers united under the improvised chief, who put the regiment at the disposal of the lawful government. Juan Fabra was made a lieutenant on the spot."

A few days later, the population of Valencia—for the most part young men and girls, practically unarmed, under the command of the same Juan Fabra, one of the many rank and file Spaniards who became heroes during these days of fighting—suppressed a rebellion of fascist officers of the Valencia garrison who were in possession of a large quantity of weapons.

"At about 9 o'clock, faced with the threat of immediate assault, the soldiers pushed aside their officers, opened the gates, and rushed out into the streets. And through these same wide-flung gates—in one stream marching to meet the other—the people rushed into the barracks, headed by Lieutenant Juan Fabra, of whose heroism we have already related. At this, the majority of the officers and the rebels who had joined them from the town committed suicide. The remainder were executed. Three tanks, a large number of machine-guns, hand grenades and rifles fell into the hands of the people. As for the cavalry, it immediately followed the example of the infantry."

The rebellion in Valencia was suppressed.

Bloch relates how, during the first days of fighting, the united front became stronger and stronger among the Spanish working people of different political views. An Anarchist worker from Valencia explained to him in the following words why the Anarchists must fight shoulder to shoulder with the comrades of other political camps:

"My teachers are Bakunin, Tolstoy and Peter Kropotkin. But I have also learned that if you try to take two steps at once instead of one, you will inevitably fall to the ground. . . . Today, it is the

united front against fascism, with the bourgeois Left, the Socialists and Communists. It is a question of life or death."

And this is what a Castillian peasant Communist said to Bloch:

"We are not fighting to set up Communism in Spain. It is not yet time for that, society is not ripe for it. . . . All in good time. I am a Communist. But today our slogan is: defense of democracy and republican liberties. As for the rest, we shall see later."

In the heat of struggle the revolutionary unity of the masses is strengthening and discipline, without which there can be no victory, is being forged. The Spanish Republic began to defend itself with most insignificant military forces.

"I shall never forget", relates Bloch, "the tone of voice in which the President of the Republic said to me, the while pointing to the dismal panorama to be seen from the windows of the National Palace in Madrid (former Royal Palace), indicating the tower of the wireless station, a few barracks, the North Station and the tremendous ridge of the Sierra Guadarrama Mountains, 'We won all this *with four* artillery officers'."

But while the struggle was developing, the Spanish people were able to mobilize all their forces, to discover in-

exhaustible reserves of heroism, energy and organizational strength.

"Reviving the marvelous work of the Convent and the Bolsheviks, the toilers of the Spanish Republic are building up an army out of nothing. And not only an army, but munitions factories, gunpowder plants, bullets, airplane works, shooting ranges, hospitals, leaders, discipline, tactics, strategy."

The Spanish people are making superhuman efforts to free their land from the fascist vipers, both Spanish and foreign. But the peoples of Europe must aid them, and first and foremost—as the author stresses—the French people, who are linked with Spain not only through geographical proximity, not only through their kindred languages and cultural traditions, but in their common interest in the fate of European democracy. Not to help Spain is tantamount to helping international fascism, which is preparing new, devastating wars for mankind.

This brilliant, edifying book by Bloch is devoted to a description of the facts, to setting forth arguments in confirmation and development of these ideas; the book strives to convince those who are still uncertain, who are hesitating, and to bring a still wider section of the people into the movement to aid the Spanish people.

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